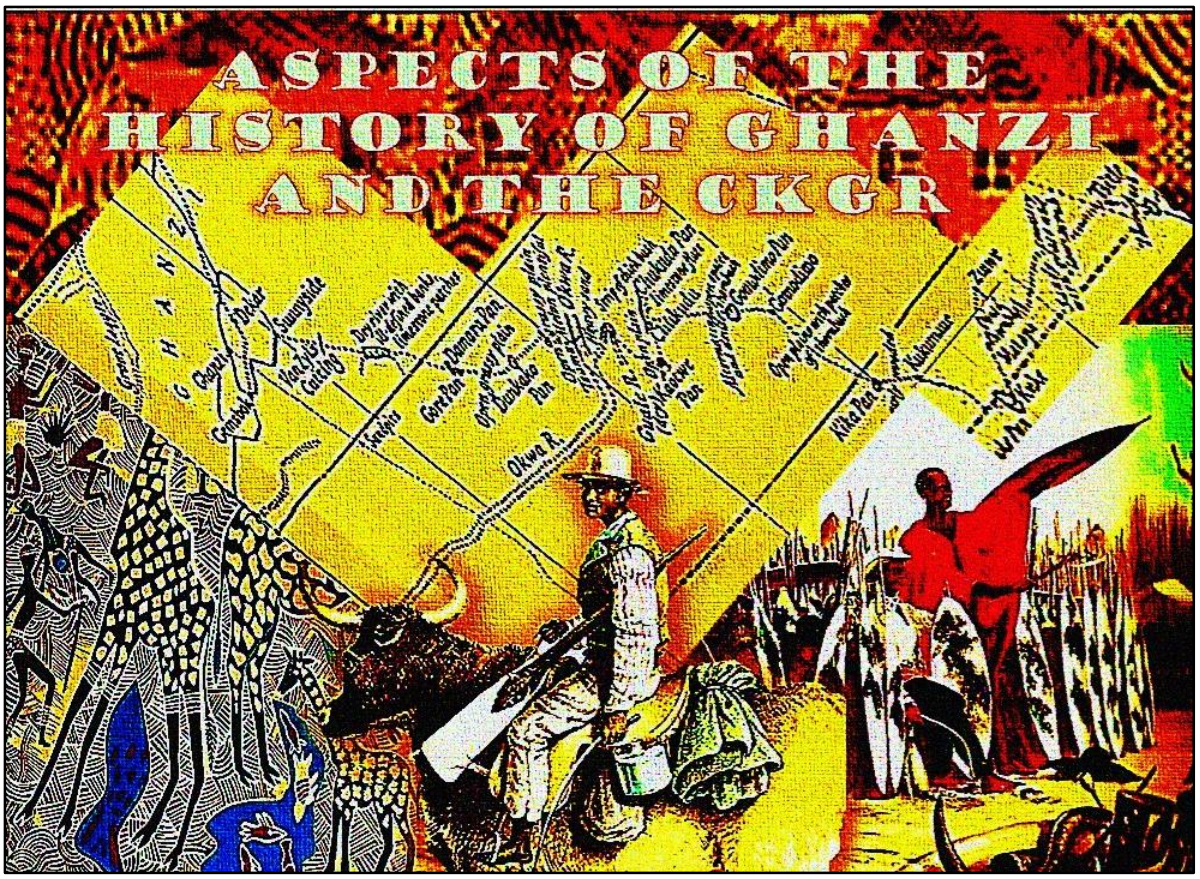

LOSING TO THE WORLD IN THE KALAHARI – SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE GHANZI DISTRICT AND CKGR TO 1990 by JEFF RAMSAY

The following monograph began as a series of newspaper essays that were published in the Daily News in 2000 and the Midweek Sun in 2002. Subsequent content revisions and additions appeared over the years in additional Botswana periodicals. The articles have been edited for continuity and modified with the inclusion of extensive, updated, endnotes in place of occasional in-text references. Interest in the Ghanzi region's past was an extension of this author's initial research focus on the socio-political evolution of Kweneng.[1] It was further influenced by my exposure to indigenous rights issues in Ghanzi in the mid-1990s, as a member of the Advisory Board of MS-Botswana (*Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke* [Danish Volunteer Service] in Botswana) and as a newspaper columnist, as well as through interactions with other scholars.[2] When the series appeared in the popular press they were conceived as side-line contributions to the then-ongoing "Kalahari Debate" that was raging in academic circles about the past, present and future status of Khoisan-speaking peoples in the region. For all the scholarly passion, intellect, and published output that arose from the said debate, its critical findings have to a great extent remained on the academic side-lines, raising questions about its ultimate relevance to the still marginalised communities that were its focus.

Introduction

This monograph examines aspects of the history of the Ghanzi District in central-western Botswana. Located in the geographic centre of Africa south of the Zambezi, the area has a regionally connected, controversial, and contested, past that contradicts the common perception of the area as having been a quiet backwater removed from the convulsive currents that shaped the rest of Southern Africa over the last two centuries. With an area of 117,910 square kilometres, the district is Botswana's largest, encompassing about 20% of the nation's landmass.[3] Almost half of the district, 52,800 square kilometres, is taken up by the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). The second largest game reserve in Africa, the CKGR has a fluctuating human population of up to a few hundred.

Most of the rest of the district's relatively small but growing population, numbering 43,355 as of 2011, is concentrated on and around the Ghanzi Ridge, a limestone outcropping in the northwest corner of the district that extends for several hundred kilometres.[4] At the ridge's centre is the town of Ghanzi (2011 population 12,267, 2021 estimate 21,420), which serves as the district's headquarters, and principal commercial hub.[5] The township is surrounded by the Ghanzi Farms, consisting of some 200 large commercial farms totalling 18,530 square kilometres that in recent decades combine ranching with horticulture production. Since 1959 the farms have been occupied as freehold land.[6] In terms of livestock, they have held plus or minus 10% of Botswana's cattle herd, while at times providing up to 75% of the nation's beef exports to the European Union through the Botswana Meat Commission.[7]

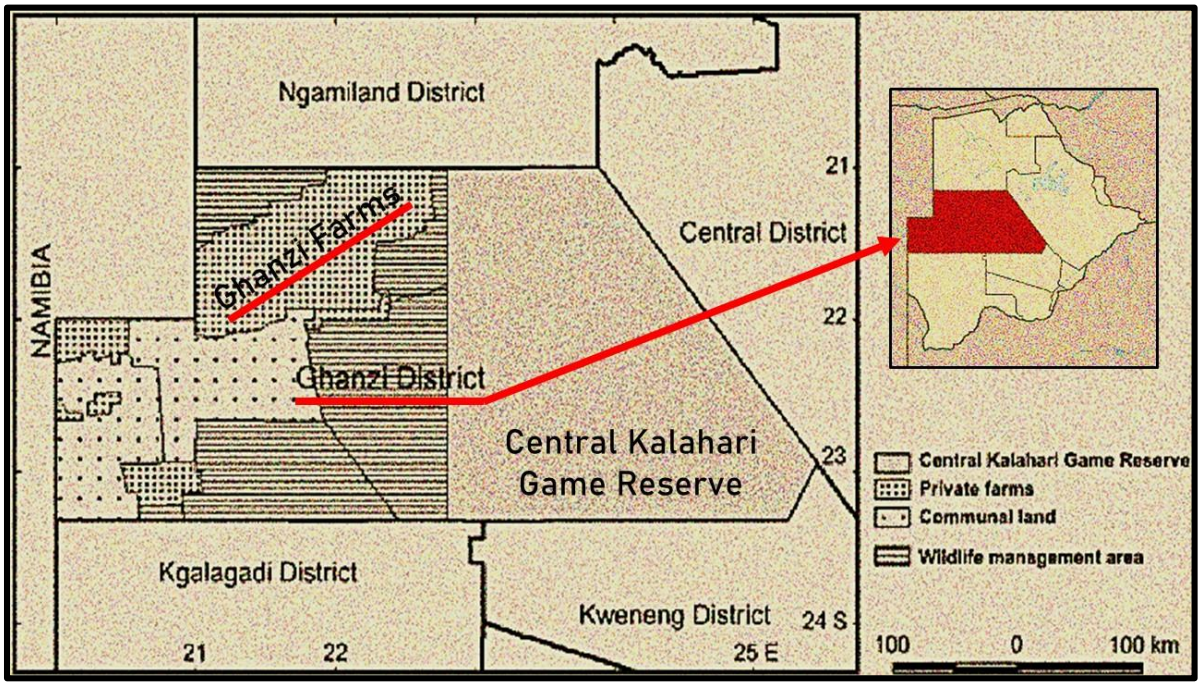

Fig. 1: Map of Ghanzi District showing land-use zones

Although barely visible from the ground, the ecology of the ridge differentiates it from the surrounding Kalahari (Kgalagadi) sand veld. It is relatively well watered, with numerous pans and underground aquifers allowing for sustainable wells. The area is also characterised by better soils that nurture the growth of sweet grasses for grazing and woodland. As a result of its locally unique features, Ghanzi Ridge has been loosely described as an oasis in the centre of the Kalahari that over the centuries has catered to human, wildlife, and livestock populations. Given its geographic location as well as natural advantages, the area has evolved as a nexus of north-south and east-west trade across the Kalahari.

The origin of the name Ghanzi is disputed. It is widely assumed that it is of Khoisan origin, derived from the central Khoe languages of the region. One well-established explanation is that it is from a Khoe word for "a one-stringed musical instrument with a calabash resonator."[8] An alternative suggestion is that it is a European transcription of the Naro-khoe term “Gaents'ii” meaning “full or swollen buttocks;” perhaps a metaphorical allusion to the area’s bounty of natural foodstuffs.[9] The mid-nineteenth century Swedish traveller Charles Andersson was told by his Griqua companions that the name translated as “very large, but very small.” Andersson found this definition apt insofar as the ground moisture gave “an indication of much water, whilst the real quantity was trifling.”[10]

Among local Sotho-Tswana, that is Setswana and Shekalagari speakers, the area has long been known as “Gantsi” or “place of flies,” whose prevalence is associated with the presence of wildlife and livestock herds. Among the Batswana, the Batawana *morafe* or tribe also referred to the area as "Mokeng," or "the place of honey."[11]

Ethno-linguistic diversity

The population of the Ghanzi District has long been ethnically mixed, with Ovaherero, Bakgalagari, and Batswana as well as Khoe communities having all been in the region before the nineteenth century arrival of European travellers and subsequent settlers. This longstanding ethnic diversity challenges the myth officially perpetuated during the period of the British colonial occupation that, before the arrival of white settlers, Ghanzi had existed as a largely empty and unclaimed land, *"nullius terra"* in their legal Latin, on the basis that it had only been occupied by "roving Bushmen," that is by various Khoe groups.

Like the rest of Botswana, Ghanzi’s indigenous Khoe (alternatively Khoi, Kwe, etc.) have been collectively known by the region’s Sotho-Tswana speakers as ‘Basarwa’ though some Khoe groups such as the Nama have been differentiated by such labels as ‘Makgothu’ or ‘Bakgotjhu’.[12]

In external academic as well as popular writings, the same communities have commonly been referred to as either 'Bushmen' or 'San'.

While all language and cultural categories are the product of evolving social construction, and thus prone to ambiguities in their designation over time, the existence of these external labels, and associated stereotypes, for the Khoe has over the years done much to confuse their historical as well as ethno-linguistic identity.

An enduring 'Bushman' stereotype about the Khoe of western Botswana is that since time immemorial they have been isolates who by nature have solely existed as hunter-gatherers or foragers. According to this narrative they have only engaged in alternative modes of production or livelihoods as a result of relatively recent contact with outside groups. In its crudest form, this interpretation has led to their characterisation as living remnants of Stone Age people. These assumptions, which have become deeply rooted in both academia and popular perception, are challenged by research suggesting that the Khoe have also engaged in pastoralism and trading for at least 1,500 years. There is also historical evidence that Khoe communities in western Botswana were dispossessed of their livestock during the nineteenth century.[13]

Another longstanding Bushman stereotype that was legally embraced by the British colonial regime, and has continued to have a distorting influence on post-colonial policymakers, is the notion that local Khoe were by their nature a landless people.[14] It was based on this convenient legal fiction that, in 1898, the Ghanzi District was demarcated by the British as "Crownland" and initially handed over to Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company; an act of administrative grand theft that was the beginning of a very long and sadly still relevant story.

Ghanzi's indigenous Khoe communities are classified as belonging to the Central Khoe language family.[15] The most notable of these in terms of size is the Naro-khoe (Nharo, //Aikwe) and historically intertwined Auen (Au/ai). Other groups include the G/wikwe (/Gui, IGui-khoe, Dcui-khoe), G//anakwe (//Gana, IIGana-khoe, Dxana-khoe), Khute, and Kau who are prominent in the CKGR and adjacent areas in the eastern half of district. All of these groups have of course never understood, much less accepted, themselves as being landless.[16]

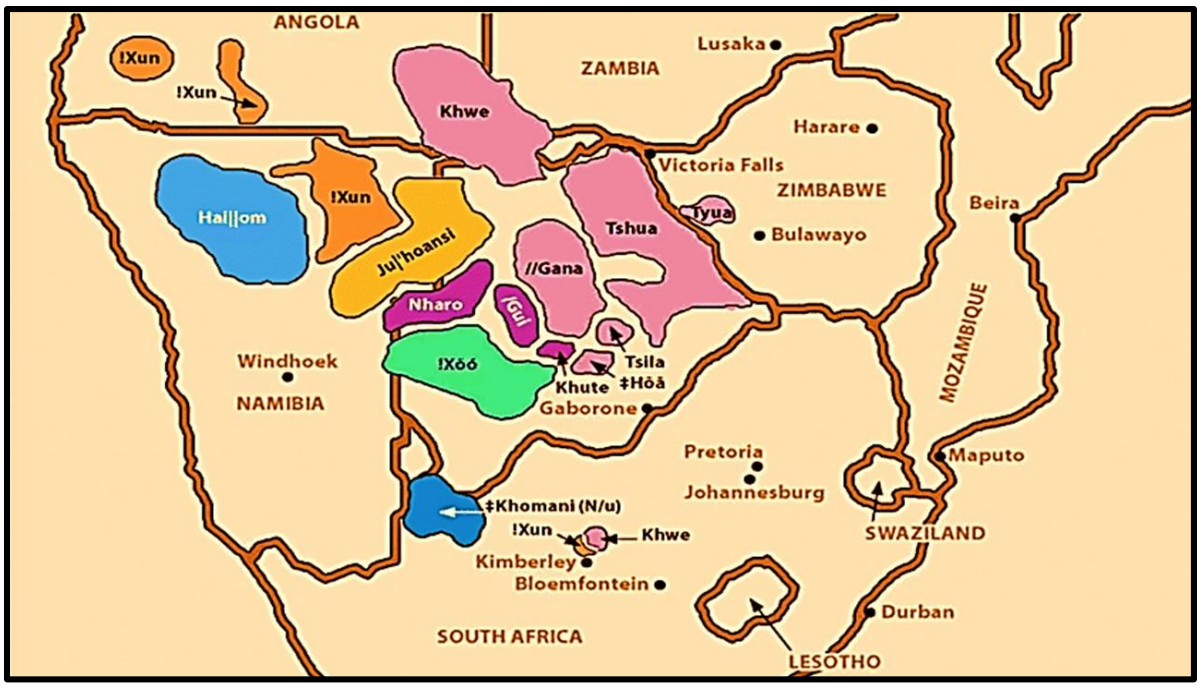

Fig. 2 Map of San language distribution from Hitchcock[17]

By the early 1800s Khoisan communities in the Kalahari are reported to have been organised under traditional leaders, known by such indigenous titles as *xhaihasi, //xeixama, xheixa, //kaiha*, etc. The existence of these titles is suggestive of past if not extant social hierarchies.[18] Their communities were concentrated around such modern centres as Rietfontein and Kobis Pan, as well as along the Ghanzi Ridge.

The Naro and Auen are further known to have been active intermediaries in trade routes running between the Zambezi and Molopo rivers; exchanging such goods as ivory, egg-shell beads, skins, and ostrich feathers for tobacco and glass beads. Naro artisans were renowned for their karosses and arrow points crafted from bone. They also had smiths to work the metal that they largely acquired through trade.[19] Naro prosperity was such that by the early nineteenth century their communities are said to have absorbed parties of Nama-khoe (Namaqua) who came into the region from Namibia.[20] The hunter-trader Joseph McCabe, who in 1852 became the first European known to have joined Batswana in traversing the central Kalahari on a commercial expedition from Kolobeng to the Batawana in Ngamiland and Makololo in the middle Zambezi region, recorded in his journal that "hundreds of Bushmen villages were scattered" in the Ghanzi area.[21]

The presence of Sotho-Tswana speakers throughout the district dates back at least as far as the 1600s. By the early eighteenth century much of the western Kalahari, including parts of Ghanzi were united under a Morolong ruler named Mongologa, whose followers came to be collectively known as the Bangologa.[22]

Later during the eighteenth century, Tjiherero speakers established cattle posts in the area that now constitutes the Ghanzi Farms under the protection of the Ovaherero ruler Mutjise.[23] There their presence was challenged by the Setswana and Shekgalagari speakers.[24]

While the Ovaherero and Bangologa became rivals available evidence suggests that before the nineteenth century, there was little conflict between the Bangologa and Khoe in western Ghanzi. In this respect, the relative status of the Naro at the time is perhaps reflected in the fact that they were known to have been referred to by Bangologa as "Bakgotjhu" rather than "Basarwa."[25]

The apparent influx of people into western Ghanzi throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may have been partially due to the region becoming better watered.[26] It was also attractive for its abundance of game, as well as good grazing. Written accounts by the earliest European visitors further testify to the widespread existence of wells among all of the region's communities, which were drawing on the area's underground aquifers.

Ghanzi continued to develop as a trade nexus, from whence copper from Otavi and iron from the Kwebe Hills as well as cattle and game products were carried south to the Cape Colony via the lands of the Barolong, Batlhaping, and Batlharo. During this period, the trading predominance of the Barolong in western Kalahari was beginning to be contested by the Bangwaketse and Bakwena, as well as Ovaherero.[27] Between the Ovaherero and Barolong-Bangologa what seemingly started as tit-for-tat cattle raids escalated c. 1750 into wider warfare. As recorded a century and a half later by a Bechuanaland Protectorate Police corporal named Moses Malata:[28]

"Both Herero and Bandero [Ovambandero] were fighting with the Barolong and they were strong on both sides. The war lasted some months because the Damara [in this context Tjiherero speakers] used to get fresh regiments from SWA [South West Africa - Namibia] & the Barolong were getting mephato from the south. However, later the Barolong pushed the Herero and Bandero out."

The Ovaherero are said to have migrated back to their cousins in Namibia, but in c. 1780 they returned in larger numbers during the reign of Mitjise's son Tjirwe or Tjrua, causing many of the Barolong in turn to retreat to the south. In the 1820-30s the Ovambandero of Munjuku, in alliance with Tjirwe's son Tjamuaha (also referred to as Katjamuwaha in some texts), proved resilient in turning back successive challenges by the Makololo, Moruakgomo's Bakwena and Motswakhumo's Batawana factions, and a party of Amandebele, who may have been separated from the victims of the Bangwaketse Kgosi Sebego's great victory at Dultwe.

Eastern Ghanzi – The Central Kalahari

The eastern half of the Ghanzi District has, since 1961, been demarcated as the Central Kalahari Game Reserve or CKGR. From the time of its formation, the reserve has become the focus of domestic and international controversy centring on the residence rights of various communities that have called it home versus others who have sought to conserve the area as pristine wilderness. In this controversy, discussion on all sides has proceeded with little reference to the area's multi-ethnic history. This gap has left unchallenged additional myths, such as the common view that the reserve's inhabitants have until recently existed in near isolation from the political and economic forces transforming the rest of their region.

There is a popular perception of the central Kalahari as some sort of "Lost World" or "Untamed Eden", where the so-called Bushmen have since time immemorial been living off the land in the timeless manner of their ancestors. Initially fostered by nineteenth century showmen, who profited from their exhibition of "wild Kalahari Bushmen" as "missing links" before European and North American audiences, this now romanticised view has become an entrenched part of global pop culture.[29] From Paris to Tokyo the portrayal of Bushmen as Stone Age innocents continues to amuse and confuse while selling everything from soft drinks to globalist socio-economic agendas. In addition to popular visual storytellers such as Lawrence van der Post, Jamie Uys, and members of the Marshall family, the Bushman stereotype was promoted by several twentieth century anthropologists, including George Silberbauer who played a key role in the CKGR's establishment.[30]

The anthropological view of Kalahari Bushmen as isolated remnants of the human past has, however, been discredited. As one revisionist, Helga Vierich, noted in her 1981 study of the area's Khua:[31]

"The fact that the Basarwa live in contact- in a kind of symbiosis- with Bantu-speaking people throughout the Kalahari and not only in the east, and have done so for at least 150 years in most places, is something that is not very clear in much of the literature on them as hunter-gatherers."

In the case of the central Kalahari such co-existence extends back much further. Material evidence, including glass beads of Indian origin, conclusively shows that the region was integrated into ancient transcontinental trading networks. Evidence of early pastoralism, the remains of cattle and goats dating from at least the seventh century, in the region also exists. Diggings at Kikao, within the CKGR, as well as adjacent areas such as Khutse, further suggest the co-existence

of different cultural communities. Evidence includes contrasting patterns of settlement, as well as such things as pottery styles. It may be noted that, generally, early artefacts in the region are identified with presumed cultures, not specific tribes or merafe.[32]

From the sixteenth century material evidence begins to come together with oral traditions and ethnography to provide a more comprehensive picture. Since then, the predominant ethno-linguistic groups living in and around the CKGR have been the Central Khoe-speaking G/wikwe, G//anakwe, and Kau and the Sotho-Tswana speaking Bakwatheng, Baboloongwe, and Bashaga. The latter groupings called their Khoisan neighbours Basarwa, and in turn, came to be collectively labelled Bakgalagari.

Oral traditions further confirm that relations between Basarwa/Khoe and Bakgalagari in the central Kalahari, while at times symbiotic, have not been free from conflict and exploitation. Few would consider it reasonable to discuss the roots of racism in the Americas without referring to the legacy of slavery. Likewise, it would be absurd to ignore Apartheid's role in the shaping of modern South African society. Yet, it is still common to talk about the status of Khoe or Basarwa communities in the Kalahari without any acknowledgment of their past subordination by other ethnic groups. By the end of the seventeenth century, a social pattern was emerging in eastern Ghanzi along with adjacent areas of western Kweneng, in which Khoe as Basarwa, sometimes semi-assimilated as 'Balala,' were often forced to work as virtual slaves for Bakgalagari and later Batswana masters.[33] This unpleasant truth undermines the stereotype of them as "wild Bushmen" encased in an isolated hunter-gatherer culture.

In Setswana, such servants were often referred to as either *lelata (*plural *Malata)* or *Motlhanka* (*Batlhanka)*. In this respect, *"Lelata/Malata"* is arguably a more precise term for classifying those who were regarded as property. While known incidents of the sale of *Malata* to outsiders occurred on only a modest scale, the concept of owning Basarwa/Balala servants was widespread. The following extract translated from a collection of Shekgalagari oral texts, as recorded in 1944, is typical:[34]

"Only rich people own Balala and Basarwa. They provide their masters with moretlwa berries and with the skins of the silver fox and jackal. Their masters give them tobacco and dogs, so that they may go out and hunt, and live on the meat, bringing the skins to their masters. The wives of rich people own Basarwa and Balala women. They come along with moretlwa berries which they give to the wives of the rich men."

Khoe were thus commonly exploited as goatherds, domestic servants, porters, and concubines, as well as for their hunting and gathering skills. Dogs and goats, along with such things as iron traps, generally remained their master's property. Inevitably, subjugation promoted abusive stereotypes. Among Bakgalagari and later Batswana it became common to despise Khoe as "animals" ("*phologolo*"), "just things" ("*bilo hezi/dilo fela*"), and "thieves" ("*bosuru/magodu*"). Social barriers were created to the marriage, as opposed to sexual exploitation, of Khoe women. If a Mokgalagari man treated a Mosarwa woman like a second wife, his first wife might rebuke him saying: *"Ha ke bate go ngwalelwa le etya yame."* ("I do not want to be taken in marriage together with my dog.")

Notwithstanding the above, some independent Khoe continued to be respected and remunerated for their skills as traditional healers and rainmakers. Others not reduced to servitude were feared for the effectiveness of their poisoned arrows.

The following is an extended English translation of a Shekgalagri account (previously published by Schapera) about how the ancestors of many of the 'Basarwa,' that is G/wikwe, G//anakwe, and Kau, living in the central Kalahari, are said to have become the property of Bakgalagari during the reign of the Baboloongwe Kgosi Seloilwe I.[35]

"Long ago the Basarwa were a nation [sechaba], they were not owned by Bakgalagari, nor did the latter govern them. The Bakgalagari wished to govern the Basarwa, but the Basarwa did not wish to be governed by the Bakgalagari. Whenever the Bakgalagari used to send the Basarwa about, the Basarwa did this through compulsion. And when the Basarwa ruler [Kgosi ya Basarwa] heard that the Bakgalagari were compelling the Basarwa, he became very angry, and he spoke to the Basarwa saying, 'you must no longer do what the Bakgalagari say you should do.' And when the Bakgalagari came to the Basarwa village [modzeng; i.e., motseng], the Basarwa ruler said, 'Bakgalagari, go and tell Seloilwe this: 'I am not your servant [mothanka; i.e., motlhanka] if you wish to govern my people you must first come and conquer me'….

"But Seloilwe merely kept quiet. And whenever wild animals were killed, the Bakgalagari would make the Basarwa carry them, and when their ruler heard this, he became very angry…A long time passed but the Bakgalagari still did not agree with the Basarwa. If a Mokgalagari ordered a Mosarwa about, and the Mosarwa refused, the Mokgalagari would take up a club and break in his head with it. And when the Basarwa Kgosi heard of this he became very angry. After a long time, he sent one of his messengers saying, 'Speak to Kgosi Seloilwe, tell him to get ready, because I want to fight with him.'…

"Early in the morning the Bakgalagari set out; and at daybreak, they found the Basarwa still dancing, although some had fallen asleep, and the army fell upon them. When the army attacked the Basarwa Kgosi shouted out 'Seloilwe this day is the last.' The armies came together, starting at sunrise. At noon they were still fighting together. The Basarwa shot with their arrows but did not injure the Bakgalagari. The Bakgalagari killed many Basarwa, slaughtering them. Finally, there remained only the Basarwa Kgosi. As he fled the Bakgalagari pursued him, during which time his arrows got finished, When the Mosarwa became tired he turned and shot reeds to try to trick the Bakgalagari, who soon noticed that he had no more arrows in his quiver. He was seized…and his head was severed. Thereupon the Bakgalagari Kgosi ordered that the Basarwa women and children should be rounded up and brought home. Beginning here, in the time of Kgosi Seloilwe I, the Bakgalagari began to own the Basarwa."

Layers of Exploitation

By the seventeenth century, a pattern had thus emerged throughout much of the Kalahari, including the CKGR region of eastern Ghanzi, in which some Khoe were forced to work as *malata* for Bakgalagari masters. But, this form of social exploitation did not stay confined to the said two groups. By the second half of the seventeenth century Bakgalagari, along with Khoe, were also being displaced and/or subjugated by Batswana. Thereafter, from the late nineteenth century, all of the peoples in the region fell under the political and economic hegemony of European imperialists and the consequent influx of white settlers. As a result, far from living as innocents in an Untamed Eden, peoples throughout the central Kalahari, including what is now CKGR, have in more modern times struggled under multiple layers of exploitation.

On the eve of colonial rule, the missionary turned imperialist the Rev. John Mackenzie offered the following general perception of the relative status of Khoe and Bakgalagari among their Batswana masters:[36]

"The relationship between the Bakalagari and their masters is much more friendly than that between the same masters and Bushmen. The helplessness of the Bakalagari excites the contempt of their owners, and they are usually spoken about with the diminutive form of the word – Bakhalahatsane; but otherwise, they are regarded as 'bathu hela' – 'like other people'…

"But the Bushmen seldom secure much liking or consideration from their Bechuana masters. 'Masarwa a bolotsana thata' – 'Bushmen are great rascals' – 'Masarwa ke linoga hela' – 'Bushmen are perfect snakes', are remarks heard among Bechuana."

The extent to which Bakgalagari *batlhanka* in parts of eastern Ghanzi and western Kweneng can be said to have been owned by their Bakwena masters remains sensitive and controversial.[37] Some local insight can be found in a 1906 letter to the British Assistant Commissioner by the Bakwena Kgosi Sebele I, who asserted that complaints about his rule emanating from among some of his headmen were motivated by his measures to put his Batswana and "Makgalagadi" subjects on the same footing:[38]

"I wish them ['Makgalagadi'] to pay me tribute like the Bakwena and not to be worked like slaves (I mean prisoners of war). I wish you to know because Bakwena will say I am taking them away; I am not taking them away, but I say they should not have their property taken away from them as they are constantly complaining of this. I am not taking them away from their [Batswana] khotlas, but I object to them being persecuted."

Whether there was a causal relationship between Batswana subordination of Bakgalagari and Bakgalagari subordination of Khoe is an open question. It is possible that some Bakgalagari were motivated to coerce tribute from Khoe in response to Batswana impositions on themselves. But, the limits of existing evidence, and social upheavals caused by the early nineteenth century Makololo and Amandebele invasions, make it difficult to establish much more than a general understanding of the evolution of social stratification before 1800.

During the seventeenth century a breakaway faction of the Bakwena bagaMogopa residing in South Africa settled in Botswana under the leadership of a prince named Kgabo. This followed a period of drought that is said to have resulted in Kgabo leading hunting parties into the region. There he found Bakgalagari groups known as Bakwatheng and related Banakedi living at and around Dithajwane under the rule of a kgosi named Magane.

Kgabo defeated Magane, whose morafe became divided and scattered. In the century that followed Bakwena and their Bangwaketse and Bangwato offshoots subjugated those Bakwatheng who remained in south-eastern Botswana, including the Kalahari sand veld. This process occurred despite a period of stiff resistance under Magane's grandson, Mabeleng, and great-grandson, Seeiso.[39] The conqueror's subsequent contempt of the conquered is reflected in the following passage from the praise poem of Bakwena regent Tshosa:[40]

"I oppose the killing of Bakgalagadi in battle, they are poor persons who own nothing of their own; a rich man eats those rich like himself, a handsome one eats those as handsome as he."

By 1939 Bakgalagari under Bakwena rule, who continued to hunt and graze throughout much of the modern CKGR, as well as Kweneng, were divided for hut tax purposes into twenty dikgotla or sub-wards. Each of these units belonged to one of the high-ranking Bakwena nobles or kgosana. The largest number fell under the direct authority of the royal kgotla, Kgosing. Among these were the Baloongwe booModimo of Gaoonwe Seloilwe, who in 1938 observed of his community's nineteenth century subordination by Bakwena:[41]

"The Bakwena knew where this tribe, Bakgalagari were living and their Kgosi [i.e., Kgosi Sechele I, ruled 1833-92] used to send men to collect tribute. When these men arrived the Bakgalagari would begin to gather game and all the other objects they had. Then the Bakwena would return home. During that time, the Bakgalagari began to purchase guns, cattle, ploughs, and pots. When the Bakwena Kgosi heard this, he sent men to deprive the people of these objects, because the Bakgalagari had been conquered and he did not like them to own anything. The Bakgalagari continued to purchase such objects and continued to be robbed of them. At last, the Kgosi's brother [Kgosidintsi] felt pity when this was done, and said to the Kgosi: 'You have conquered this tribe, they pay tribute to you, they serve you in all things, now let them own this and that just like Bakwena.'"

The above text reflects the fact that by the mid-nineteenth century traders from the Cape Colony were penetrating the central Kalahari. At the time local rulers like Sechele were eager to acquire guns and other goods by participating in the lucrative trade of game products, especially ivory and ostrich feathers, to the Cape. In this respect the central Kalahari was at the time less important as a hunting ground, mostly supplying relatively low-valued karosses or skins, than as a strategic zone linking the Bakwena court with the wealth of Ngamiland and beyond. A trans-central Kalahari route stretched from eastern Kweneng to Ghanzi via a string of pans and waterholes in such identifiable CKGR sites as Kikao, Kaotwe, Chukudu, Kukomo, and Kgomodimo. This was the route used by Joseph McCabe in 1852, who deployed two wagons pulled by a total of 58 oxen. Accompanied by experienced locals, he attributed his success in making the journey to the use of tsamma melons.[42]

Other Europeans followed in McCabe's footsteps, though Sechele and his neighbours tried to keep the area closed to most outsiders. Colonial officials only began scouting the CKGR region during the 1920s, when they were surprised to find it being extensively used by commercial hunters, herders, and smugglers.[43]

Mfecane in the Central Kalahari

"Sebego is kind, he feeds cruel people, I saw him provision the Amandebele: he showed his foes the colour of his shield."[44]

During the early nineteenth century much of the interior of Southern Africa, including virtually all of Botswana, experienced a period of violent conflict that in the historiography has been commonly, if controversially, referred to as the *Mfecane* or *Difaqane* era. The tumult resulted in increased migration in and out of the central Kalahari, along with a corresponding increase in competition over its resources, resulting from events elsewhere in the region. Many groups took refuge in the Kalahari to escape the raiding by the Bafokeng Kgosi Sebetwane's 'Makgare', who ultimately came to be known as the 'Makololo'. This movement greatly increased following the arrival of Mzilikhazi's Amandebele into eastern Botswana.

Notable among the groups that migrated from the eastern hard veld into the western sand veld of Botswana were the Bangwaketse of Kgosi Sebego, who in 1831 moved his headquarters to Letlhakeng in western Kweneng to avoid the Amandebele. By the winter of 1833 Sebego's continued refusal to accept Mzilikhazi's hegemony as 'Tautona,' resulted in the latter dispatching a punitive expedition from his headquarters at eGabeni, in what is now South Africa's North-West province, where he had imposed his authority over dozens of other Batswana communities.[45] But, having anticipated Mzilikazi's move, Sebego put into place his strategy for defeating the Amandebele by drawing them deep into the central Kalahari's inhospitable expanse.[46]

And so it was that a large force of Amandebele, whose ranks included warriors of younger regiments who had pleaded for the opportunity to wash their spears in the blood of their foes, advanced from eGabeni in a northwest direction. As to who was their commanders and what were the names of their regiments no known memory survives. Such details were lost with an ignominious defeat so complete as to have subsequently become unmentionable at the Tautona's court.

Their coming is, however, remembered by the Baloongwe and Khoe as well as Bangwaketse, who were in the path of their advance. Finding Letlhakeng abandoned, the invaders encountered and gave chase to Bangwaketse units whom Sebego had ordered to act as bait, luring the enemy into his trap. The Bangwaketse along with their allies, thus played a cat-and-mouse game, appearing only to vanish, all the while drawing the Amandebele after them ever deeper into the Kalahari, the scorched earth of today's CKGR and western Kweneng. With each passing day, the pursuing Amandebele grew weaker. They were unfamiliar with the local melons and tubers used by the locals to refresh

themselves, as well as water points and other aspects of the environment. When water points were reached, they were invariably poisoned.

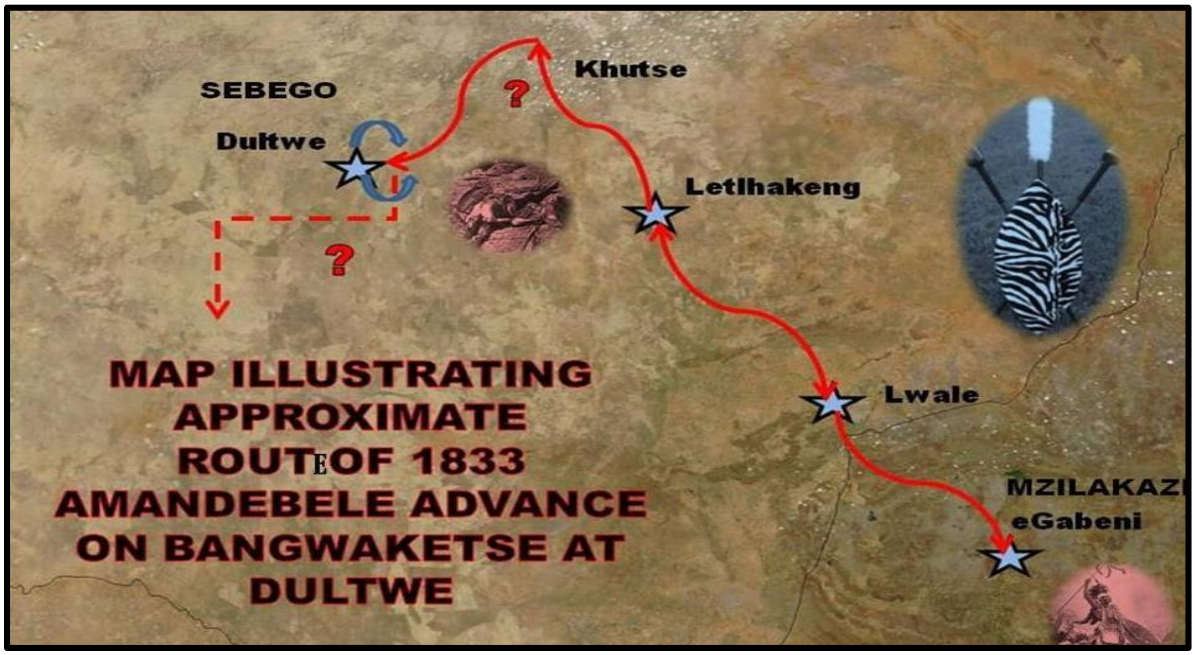

Fig. 3 Approximate route of 1833 Amandebele march on Dultwe

According to Sengwaketse accounts, Sebego employed "Basarwa" that is Khoe spies to misguide the Tautona's men away from any sustenance. In this respect, surviving Setswana and Shekgalagari traditions are consistent with local Khoe folk memory. Beyond any links to the Bangwaketse via the Baloongwe, the Khoe would have undoubtedly had their own motives for frustrating the trespassing Amandebele, who are remembered as the "Kibere" of "Musiyacheche". Kuela Kiema provides an account of a great hunter named ≠Haan!abo who launched a solo mission on the Amandebele to divert them from his nearby village. Captured, ≠Haan!abo guided the invaders away from his settlement for several days before escaping. Kiema also relates a tradition of Amandebele warriors being lured to their death during a trance dance. Another tradition collected by Nakagawa refers to a Kua hero in the campaign identified as Guru.[47]

Eventually, the Amandebele found their way to the outskirts of Dultwe pan, where Sebego had brought his mephato or age regiments together. As a final lure herd boys were sent out with beasts to entice the exhausted and famished invaders, who obligingly gave chase toward a solid phalanx of white shields. Out of the enemy's sight, Sebego's horns were already coming together. The Bangwaketse attacked the Amandebele on all sides. Few, if any escaped. A handful of Bakgalagari families, who today claim Amandebele descent, may be a legacy. Otherwise, it is claimed, none ever returned to eGabeni.[48]

In the aftermath of the Bangwaketse victory at Dultwe, the Amandebele did not launch another major expedition into the Kalahari interior. While Sebego was for the moment secure, given his subjects' needs, not the least of which being the need to maintain their livestock, prolonged residence in the central Kalahari was environmentally unsustainable. Insofar as the Amandebele were still too powerful to contemplate an immediate return to the east, Sebego cast his eyes towards new opportunities in the lands to his west. He, therefore, moved his headquarters to Monnyalatsela, near today's Ghanzi Township, while a segment of the morafe remained behind at Dultwe.

From Monnyelatsela, Sebego moved to forcibly impose his hegemony, sending out his regiments to collect tribute in the form of cattle and game products from the Ovaherero and Bangologa.[49] The Ovaherero rallied against the Bangwaketse. But their resulting defeat was so decisive as to cause them to once more abandon the region. They only returned decades later as refugees fleeing the genocidal German occupation of Namibia. The Bangwaketse victory is said to have been amply rewarded in captured livestock; as reflected in the following passage from Sebego's praise poem:[50]

"I come with the attacker from Hereroland [Tlammeng, i.e., land of the *Matlamma]; I watched a fight for dark-brown cattle, men killing each other with spear thrusts. The cattle in the east have short horns, the short-horned cattle of Kgaodi…I went to Hereroland with the attacker, the ruler, the child of dark-brown calves, the dark-brown ones of the Herero village; we charmed a rhinoceros-horn club for them, that the brown cattle might fall on their knees and face him, the distributor, the son of Khuto."*

Another apparent legacy of Sebego's brief residence in Ghanzi was the introduction of ivory trading and large-scale commercial hunting into the region. His age regiments' communal hunting practices, such as encircling game over a wide area, and/or trapping them by driving them into large pits, would have been of an altogether different scale to the environmentally sustainable practices of the local Khoe hunting bands.

The arrival of the Bangwaketse was a severe challenge for the Bangologa merchants in the region who, accompanied by a few Ovambandero breakaways, withdrew to the Matsheng area in the modern Kgalagadi District where the settlements of Hukuntsi, Lehututu, Lolgwabe, and Tshane are located. But there they found little respite. With malaria beginning to take a toll at Monnyelatsela and more pillage beckoning, in the summer of 1835-36, Sebego advanced on Matsheng setting up his new headquarters at Lehututu. From there he demanded the subservience of the Bakgwatheng and Bariti as well as Bangologa in the

region, raiding the villages of any who dared to resist, seizing their livestock, including small stock, in the process.

At Hukuntsi some Bangologa sought assistance from their southern compatriots, resulting in a temporary coalition led by a Morolong named Molebe. But, Sebego defeated Molebe's force when they attacked his position at Lehututu. He then pursued survivors, catching up to them at Kurutlwe.[51] The Bangwaketse attacked at night, slaughtering their opponents in large numbers. Thereafter Sebego terrorised much of what is now western Botswana into temporary submission. The French missionary Prosper Lemue, based on second-hand reports, alleged that:

"Having confiscated their goats Sebego had men women and children put into their huts, which were then burned down."[52]

While the extent of Sebego's cruelty may have been exaggerated in some quarters, his time at Matsheng is remembered by Bakagalagari as a historical nadir of their history of oppression by Batswana.

Batawana Conquest

With the return of the Bangwaketse to south-eastern Botswana in the 1840s, the Batawana Kgosi Letsholathebe sought to impose his hegemony other the Ghanzi Ridge. His authority was, however, resisted by local Naro and Auen. By the early 1850s the two communities united under the leadership of a ruler named Dukuri. Reference to Dukuri can be found in Siegfried Passarge's 1907 German study *Die Buschmanner der Kalahari*. Citing information from "an old Bushman" named Kapoch, he described Dukuri as having been a powerful Auen leader who ruled over a "well-organised state," while building up his wealth and power by selling ivory and other game products to traders for weapons:[53]

"He ruled the entire area between Rietfontein in the west, the Grootlaagte in the north, Okwa to the south, and deep into the sand veld as far as Epukiro to the east. His residence during the dry season was Ghanzi and !Kautsha, during the rainy season he hunted as far as Grootlaagte. He was very powerful and always surrounded by many Bushmen. My reporter saw as a child with his own eyes the paramount's arsenal, his house filled with spears and other weapons. He was the supreme warlord. Upon his call, the Bushmen would gather, and he led them against neighbouring tribes. Families had to pay him an annual tribute in skins, ivory, ostrich eggshell stings, etc. He was also the head judge, who made decisions in family conflicts. ...In those times the title of paramount was hereditary and the Bushmen were completely autonomous. The Bechwana did not dare enter their territory, the Hottentots [Nama] only in raids."

In 1854 Dukuri raided Batawana cattle posts initiating several years of conflict. After repeatedly failing to corner Dukuri, in 1858 Letsholathebe offered to make peace. But, Dukuri and his men were instead put to death when they arrived to negotiate. Besides being remembered in local oral traditions, the 1858 murder of Dukuri and his lieutenants was recorded by the nineteenth century artist adventure capitalist Thomas Baines, who notes of Letsholathebe:[54]

"He sent a man with tobacco to buy skins of them and having by a long course of deceitfulness lulled their suspicions, be proclaimed a grand battue [great hunt]. Of course, the quarry were the Bushmen themselves, who were surprised, disarmed, and brought before [Letsholathebe] when sitting on his stool. He superintended the deliberate cutting of their throats, embittering their last moments by every taunt and sarcasm his imagination could supply."

With Dukuri out of the way, Letsholathebe was able to consolidate his authority over the north-western Ghanzi, while the southeast as far as Qade and Molopo paid tribute to Sechele's Bakwena. Possession of the Ghanzi ridge gave the Batawana kingdom control over a major trans-Kalahari trading nexus. By the mid-1850s many European traders were coming through the area from Walvis Bay, offering guns for ivory. Some traffic also continued to come from the south via Kweneng.

The Ghanzi region was also valued by the Batawana elite as a source of, usually Khoe, malata. Most of these malata spent their lives serving local masters who could have the power of life and death over them. Charles Andersson wrote of the punishment meted out on two such servants whose neglect had resulted in one of Letsholathebe's horses dying in a quagmire:[55]

"Having lately bought some horses, two Bushmen were ordered to take charge of them; but unfortunately, by their neglect, one of the animals fell in a quagmire, and was suffocated. Being afraid, to tell the truth, they reported to the chief that the horse had died of the effects of the bite of a snake. On hearing this, Lecholetebe questioned the men as to the part of the body wounded by the reptile, and being told it was the head, he ordered the men to lead him to the place that he might see for himself. On arriving at the spot, he at once saw how the case stood, and told the Bushmen that the animal had not died from the bite of a snake, but evidently choked in the mud, to which they confessed as there was no longer any chance of concealing the truth. Without further question or remark, the chief ordered the halter of the dead horse to be loosened, and the hands and feet of the Bushmen to be secured with it. This being done, they were thrown into the mud alongside the dead quadruped, where of course, they soon miserably perished, Lecholetebe coolly exclaiming: 'There now mind the horse!'"

In another incident, Andersson noted that Letsholathebe had a malata lad caught stealing sheep "tied to a tree, and practised upon with guns at the long distance of two hundred paces."

The Batawana ruler also became notorious as the one major kgosi of his era who is known to have sold malata to slave traders. The British trader Leyland, who visited Ngamiland in 1851, observed:[56]

"They exchanged several Cows, brought with them, for slaves: and the Griquas exchanged a slave for a dog...They were principally boys, nine or ten years of age; their countenances were sad, melancholy, and miserable. The chief treats them as dogs, they are not permitted to associate with the tribe they are under."

Evidence of an 1869 slave-buying expedition by the Boer traders Jan Viljoen, Lucas Swartz, and Hendrick Matthys Van Zyl was visually captured in a water colour painting (below) by Thomas Baines, which shows over two dozen young slaves being herded from Toteng enroute to the Transvaal.[57]

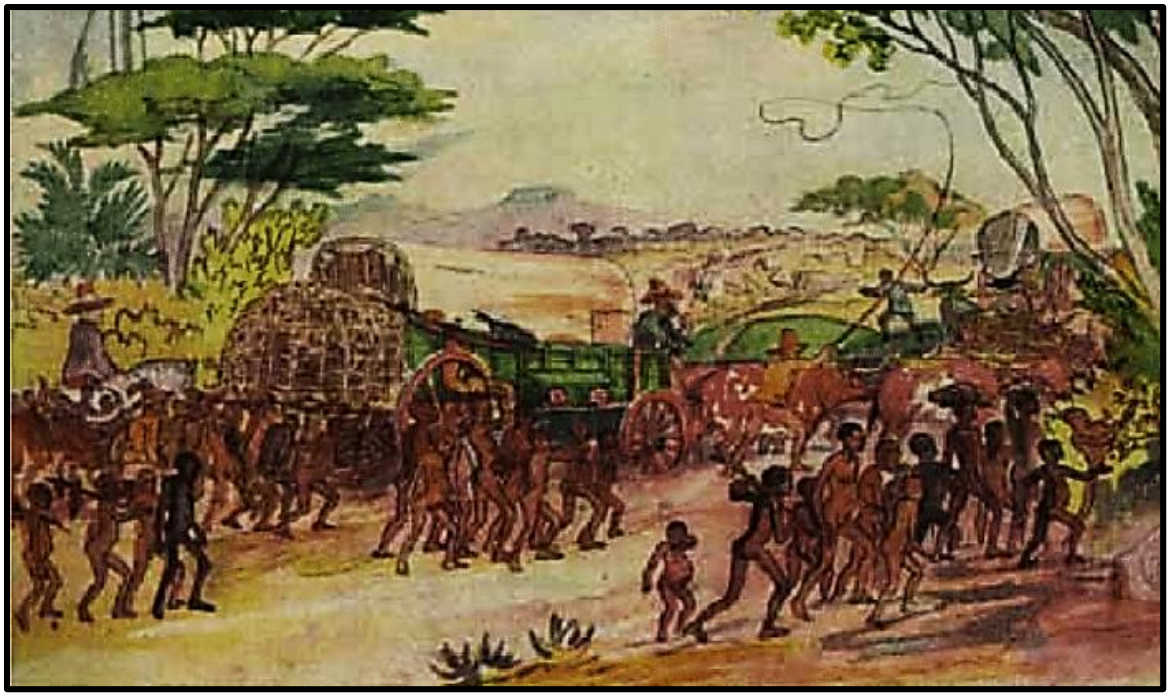

Figure 4. "Riding Slaves" watercolour by Thomas Baines[58]

The same Hendrick Van Zyl subsequently become Letsholathebe's agent in Ghanzi. There are contradictory accounts of Van Zyl's character and career. One contemporary described him as "an intelligent and wealthy Boer who, accompanied by his wife and family of stalwart sons and a little daughter, with many native servants, moved gradually to the edge of the desert."

It is not clear whether it was the pull of ivory and ostrich feather profits or the push of political scandal that caused Van Zyl to emigrate permanently from the old South African Republic (Transvaal), where he had been a member of the *Volksraad* (People's Assembly). His wealth and status had been built up over years through the export of game products, as well as slaves, from north-western Botswana. After first spending several months on the Limpopo, he arrived back at Toteng in November 1874.

Van Zyl, otherwise known to the Batawana as “Raubase”, was thereafter allowed to settle in Ghanzi with unlimited hunting rights on the condition that he turn over half of the ivory and other game products to Kgosi Letsholathebe while helping the Batawana in keeping the Nama out of the area.[59] Using local Khoe, mostly Naro, servants to assist him in his hunting and herding activities, Van Zyl initially did well as a *defacto* Motawana headman. By 1876 he was able to export to the Cape, via Walvis Bay, goods "which were said to amount to several thousand pounds in value." Some of the money was used towards the erection of a relatively lavish house, which reputedly boasted stain-glass windows.

Van Zyl sowed the seeds of his downfall following Letsholathebe's death. The Batawana Kgosi was initially replaced by a weak regent named Memo. Emboldened further by the arrival of parties of “Dorsland” (“Thirstland") trekkers, Van Zyl began asserting his independence. Besides failing to pay tribute, after 1877 he and his accomplices began to hunt extensively in areas north of Ghanzi. During one day alone in 1878, his party is said to have slaughtered 103 elephants!

After securing the Batawana throne Moremi II tested Van Zyl by ordering him to come to Kgosing. When he failed to appear, a regiment was sent to fetch him. In a cunning but futile effort to hold on Van Zyl used a large consignment of peach brandy to attract a band of Nama to his homestead. Finding Van Zyl entertaining the Nama band, the Batawana successfully attacked. A gunfight ensued in which the Batawana drove away the Nama and destroyed Van Zyl's house (its foundation is still barely visible).

Reduced to poverty Van Zyl fled to Namibia. There he was killed, c. 1880, allegedly by Paulas Visser of the ǀKhowesin (Witbooi) Nama in revenge for the fate of the people who had been lured by Van Zyl into his losing battle with the Batawana. Thereafter, the Kaiǀkhauan (Khauas) Nama at Gobabis under !Nanib Andries Lambert continued to challenge Batawana hegemony in the region.

The fall of Hendrick Van Zyl brought an end to the first attempt to turn the Ghanzi Ridge into a white Afrikaner homeland. Before his death, Van Zyl had visions of establishing a Boer republic in the Kalahari under his economic and political

leadership as a prelude to the area coming under British protection. To this end, he sought to have his agreement with the by-then-late Letsholathebe recognised by the British as a land concession.

A document to this effect, dated January 4, 1878, and supposedly confirmed by Kgosi Moremi, was produced before William Coates Palgrave, the Cape Colony Commissioner at Walvis Bay who was then seeking to establish British authority over central Namibia. In his paper, Van Zyl claimed ownership of the entire Ghanzi Ridge, along with "general powers of administration within the limits of the grant." The concession's authenticity was immediately repudiated by the Batawana. But it lived on as part of the colonial scramble for the Kalahari. Before his demise, Van Zyl had advertised the region as an open territory of "lush pastures" teeming with wildlife. His glowing accounts helped encourage three separate parties of Dorsland trekkers to set out for Ghanzi, via Shoshong, Boteti, and Lake Ngami, in 1876-77.

Upon their arrival at Ghanzi, the lead party under Gert Alberts was disappointed by both the dryness of the landscape and Van Zyl's insistence that they pay for the use of his wells. Then as now, the key to Ghanzi's wealth lay in its underground water. Albert's party soon moved on to Rietfontein just inside the modern Namibian border, where they were allowed to temporarily stay with the permission of !Nanib Lambert’s Kai|khauan.

A second Dorsland Trek, led by Louwrens du Plessis, was plagued by disaster. Numbering some 480 people its appearance along the Limpopo had caused the Bangwato Kgosi Khama III to ask Her Majesty's special agent Alex Baillie about the possibility of obtaining British "protection". In the end, the very size of the group proved to be its undoing. Allowed by Khama to proceed to Ngamiland, by the time it reached the dry banks of the Boteti its people as well as livestock were dying of thirst. About half of the party had perished before they linked up with Alberts and the third group, under J.F. Botha, in the greater Ghanzi-Rietfontein region.

Threatened by both the Batawana and Nama as unwelcome trespassers, the surviving trekkers ultimately migrated north-west to Etosha pan, which was then in the land of the Hai-//omn "Bushmen", surrounded by the territories of more powerful Nama, Ovaherero, Ovahimba, and Ovambo. There they were discovered in a miserable state by the Swedish hunter-trader Axle Eriksson, who publicised their plight in a report sent to the Cape Colony.

A relief expedition aboard two schooners, the Swallow and Christiana, was dispatched to Walvis Bay, from where tons of supplies were offloaded and taken inland by ox wagon. This humanitarian gesture coincided with the then-still

ongoing attempts by Palgrave and the Cape governor to establish a British Protectorate, which would incorporate the Boer settlements.

The Kalahari Scramble

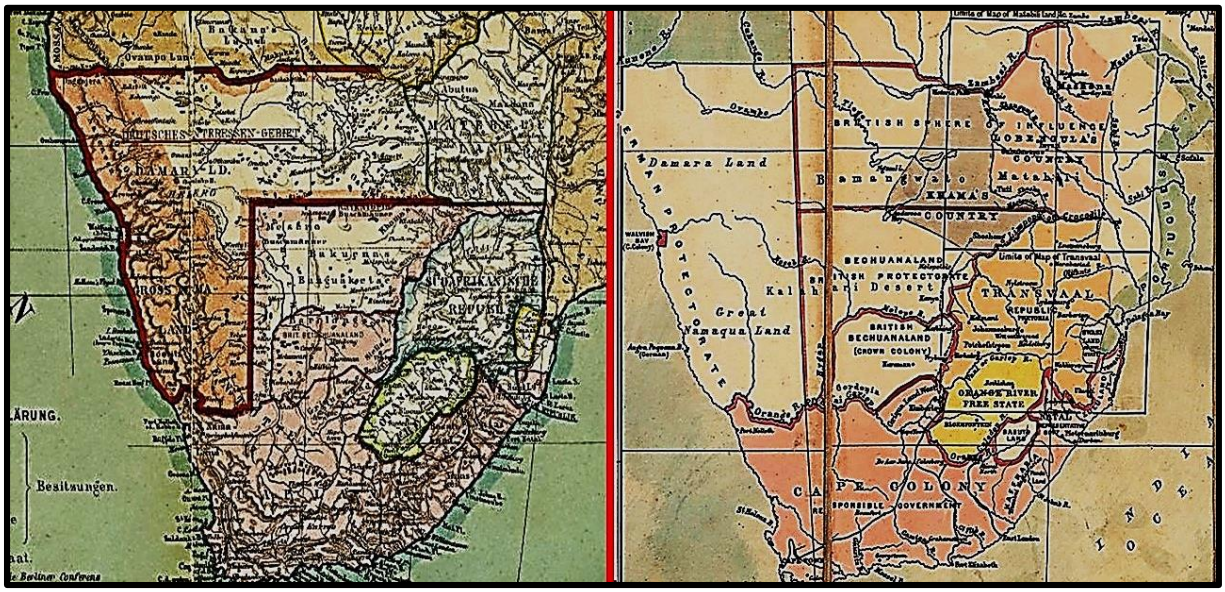

Fig. 5 German map (left) and British (right), showing competing claims over northern Botswana before the 1890 Anglo-German Agreement.

Between 1876 and 1884 W.C. Palgrave, working on behalf of the Cape Colony struggled tenaciously to extend British rule over the western Kalahari. In 1878 he was mandated, as Special Commissioner, to annex Walvis Bay and proclaim a Protectorate over much of the rest of Namibia. But the latter initiative was ultimately repudiated by the Imperial authorities in London.

As a result, in 1884 the Germans were able to begin their own occupation of Namibia on the pretext that the land was not under the effective jurisdiction of any other "civilised," that is to say European, power. The history of Botswana as well as Namibia would undoubtedly have been much different had Palgrave's efforts succeeded.

The European scramble for Africa came to Botswana in 1885, coinciding with the arrival of separate British and German military expeditions culminating at Shoshong, the capital of the Bangwato Kgosi Khama III. Earlier, on Christmas Eve 1884, Berlin had agreed to London's proposals for the division of the Kalahari along today's southern Botswana-Namibia border. As a quid pro quo, Britain agreed to abandon any claims to the territories of the Nama and Ovaherero in southern and central Namibia. Thus, on January 27, 1885, a Proclamation was made in London declaring:[60]

"The establishment of a British Protectorate over the Territory known as Bechuanaland and the Kalahari....east of the 20th-degree meridian of east longitude, and south of the 22nd parallel of south latitude, and not within the jurisdiction of any civilised Power."

Between 1885 and 1890 control over the Batawana kingdom, which then incorporated much of the Caprivi, as well as the modern Ghanzi and Northwest Districts, remained up for grabs. Thus, it was that during the second half of 1885 a small German expedition, under Captain von Topper, passed through Ghanzi and Ngamiland to Shoshong. This expedition was followed by "Article One of the German Imperial Ordinance of 30 December 1886" in which the Germans claimed the region.

Germany's ambitions in northwest Botswana were effectively countered by Kgosi Moremi's granting of economic concessions to British-aligned capitalists. In addition to the Ghanzi claims of the late Van Zyl's estate, the Batawana had negotiated several mining agreements. Most of these concessions were consolidated as the British West Charterland Company (BWCC) with Sir (later Lord) Frederick Lugard as its local administrative agent.[61]

Besides the Germans, BWCC claims were contested by Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSACO), which in September 1889 received Royal blessing to exploit all of Botswana as part of its eventual Rhodesian domain. Although BWCC's claims to most of Gatawana were eventually upheld, the company abandoned the area after the Boteti region was awarded to Gammangwato, still within the BSACO sphere of operations. After years of prospecting Lugard's men had come to believe that the wealth of the region lay in diamond deposits around Letlhakane.

In 1890 Britain and Germany finally agreed on the northern boundaries of their respective Protectorates over what is now Botswana and Namibia, thus completing the western Kalahari's partition. Shortly thereafter both nations' colonial establishments concluded that the region should become a zone of white settlement. In reaching this curious conclusion, given the Kalahari's arid environment, the imperial authorities were guided by misinformation from vested interests eager to exploit the area for quick real estate profits.

'Western Rhodesia'

Whereas London had granted Ghanzi, along with other parts of Botswana, as a commercial sphere of operations to Rhode's BSACO, Berlin's occupation of Namibia had been at the behest of the German Colonial Company of South West Africa ("DKG"-*"Deutsche Kolonialgesellschraft fur Sudwestafrika"*). To

legitimise their land claims both companies turned to the same expert- Dr. Johannes Theophilus Hahn.

Fig. 6 Hendrik Matthys Van Zly (left) and Johannes Theophilus Hahn (right)

The son of a missionary, Hahn had grown up in Namibia, where he learned the Khoekhoen language of the Nama. While employed as a librarian in Cape Town, he began to establish himself as a pioneering authority on Khoisan ethnography, resulting in some publications in German and English that helped lay the foundation for subsequent scholarship.[62] But, arguably his greater legacy was giving a veneer of academic respectability to colonial land grabbing. On behalf of both the BSACO and DKG, he maintained, in contradiction to some of his earlier observations, that the "Bushmen" were the Kalahari's exclusive indigenous population. From his 1895 report to the British Colonial Office entitled "Who are the real owners of Ghanse":

"It can only be claimed by the Bushmen, who admittedly and indisputably from times immemorial lived on it and never left it."

It was not Hahn's intention to promote the Kalahari as a Khoisan homeland. Rather, since the "Bushmen" were then being written off a dying race of landless nomads, granting them exclusive indigenous status conveniently allowed the colonialists to ignore the interests of other communities that formed part of the Kalahari's multi-ethnic mosaic.

In Namibia Hahn helped legitimise Germany's policy of clearing the Ovaherero and Nama off their lands to make way for white farmers. This policy would culminate in the 1904-08 ‘Kalahari Holocaust’ (below).

As a businessman and a politician Cecil Rhodes valued the press, often recruiting journalists to his cause. From 1892 BSACO influenced scribes began marketing Ghanzi as an environmental paradise. The region was described as "not too hot or cold, noted for its always gentle breezes." Ghanzi's fair climate was thus characterised as an ideal location for a gentlemen's health resort. Prospective settlers were further enticed with the prospect of free farms of 5,000 morgen (4,284 hectares 10,585 acres) for the first few dozen families who paid the one-pound application fee.[63]

By 1893 hundreds of poor Boers were ready to embark on a new trek to Rhodes's untamed Eden, but they were delayed by continuing ownership disputes between BSACO and the Batawana. A Rhodes-ian agent named Isaac Bosman had tricked the Batawana Kgosi Sekgoma Letsholathebe into signing a paper supposedly giving the BSACO control of Gatawana for 999 years. But Bosman's fraud was exposed by a local priest named Khuku Mogodi, who assisted Sekgoma in petitioning the authorities. The Motawana wrote:

"He [Rhodes] wants to bring whites and take our lands, the same way as he has done in Matabeleland, and we are afraid to have our country taken from us and ourselves hunted down like beasts on the veldt. Our dislike for the company is very great. If the Boers are from Rhodes let them get back at once."

Dikgosi Bathoen I, Khama III, and Sebele I also supported Sekgoma by threatening to block any Boer trek to Ghanzi via their territories. When trekkers appeared at Pitsani local Barolong and Bangwaketse burned the grass around their wagons, while Bathoen threatened to shoot any trespassing into his territory. These incidents, along with other disputes led the Resident Commissioner "Morena Maaka" Shippard to ask for an extra contingent of Bechuanaland Border Police (BBP) to attack the Bakwena along with the Bangwaketse. He noted: "the moral effect of entrusting the operations entirely to white troops would be greater on the natives." The Boers could then discipline the Batawana. Shippard's plan was rejected by London as premature. Instead, there was a failed attempt to fix an inquiry into the Bosman concession. This, along with subsequent attempts to enlist Khama in obtaining a new concession proved futile.

Despite these setbacks in April 1895 a group of 25 prospective Boer settlers accompanied by a 15-man BBP contingent under Captain J.W. Fuller and a BSACO representative John McDermid arrived in Ghanzi, establishing a camp at Kgoutsa. As with virtually all BBP officers at the time, Fuller had been given BSACO shares. Fuller and McDermid thereafter endeavoured without success to pressure the Sekgoma Letsholathebe to concede Ghanzi. In the face of this failure, Fuller suggested that the Government simply claim authority over Ghanzi as

Crownland insofar as it was only "beneficially" occupied by "idle" Bushmen who could be exploited as labourers. He further asserted that the Bushmen would welcome the settlers as protection from Batawana exploitation. Fuller also reported that its "well-watered pastures" could support up to 900 farms, each of 5,000 morgen.[64]

Following up on Fuller's suggestion the British Government, on Rhodes's behalf, recruited Theophilus Hahn, to testify that the Batawana had no claim to Ghanzi insofar as its rightful inhabitants were nomadic "Bushmen." Armed with the testimony of Dr. Hahn and Captain Fuller, the Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Edward Fairfield, legally designated the region as a *nullius terra* or empty land. In this context, the Colonial Office finally gave Rhodes' BSACO clear permission to colonise Ghanzi in August 1895; at the same time Dikgosi Bathoen, Khama, and Sebele had decided to travel to Britain to lobby against the company's claim to all of Botswana.

At the beginning of 1898, a new group of claim holders arrived in Ghanzi with the support of a BBP contingent under Major Francis Panzera. Finding Fuller's previous reports of Ghanzi unrealistic, Panzera marked off some fifty farms of 5000 morgen, while issuing 36 certificates of occupation. These settlers included such enduring surnames as Drotsky, Lewis, and Talijaard. However, most of the original settlers had moved on after spending a few years reducing the area's wildlife. In 1904 the High Commissioner, Lord Milner, wrote "the settlement of European farmers at Ghanzi has not proved a success."[65] At the time only one of the 1898 trekker families, the Talijaards at D'kar, were reported to be engaged in agriculture, although the Transvaal Labour Commission reported in the same year that 1,000 "Bushmen" were employed as farm workers.[66]

British colonial interest in the greater Ghanzi region was, however, excited by other developments. In 1904, the Ovaherero already settled at Makunda began welcoming hundreds of relatives who were then fleeing the German genocide in Namibia. Their arrival was part of the broader influx of Ovaherero, Nama, and Berg Damara into Botswana that had begun in the 1890s, but intensified during the 1904-08 rebellion in wake of the issuance of German General Lothar von Trotha's *Vernichtungsbefehl* or extermination orders against rebel populations. The resulting Kalahari Holocaust claimed the lives of not less than 70% of Namibia's Ovaherero and 50% of its Nama, as well as large numbers of Damara, /Auin, !Xo, Ju-/wasi and Hai-//omn.

The arrival of large numbers of refugees escaping across the border resulted in the stationing of a permanent colonial police presence at "Ghanzi Camp," which gradually grew into Ghanzi Township. From there the local police became part of joint Anglo-German military efforts to suppress continued cross-border

resistance by Nama and Ovaherero holdouts. During this period colonial intelligence sources suggested that guns and ammunition were being smuggled to the Namibian resistance by Batswana via routes running from Molepolole to Matsheng and Ghanzi regions. Bechuanaland Resident Commissioner, Ralph Williams was initially inclined to dismiss the reports:[67]

"The idea of a broken tribe like the Bakwena and a weak chief like Sebele, within a few miles of the railway line, at the mercy of the first trifling police force dispatched against them, contemplating aiding [the Nama leader] Witbooi, who is in arms against the Germans on the other side of a waterless desert of some 300 miles is too astonishing to be worthy of comment."

But, the detention of Ovaherero passing through the Kweneng-Kgalagadi revived suspicions. The proactive role played by British empire forces against the Nama of Marenga and Simon !Gomxab Kooper in particular resulted in the awarding in 1907 and 1908 of German service medals to members of the Bechuanaland and northern Cape Colony Police, including the commanding officer at Ghanzi Camp. It has been observed that:

"This was the one and only time that such an en-bloc awarding of Imperial German medals to Imperial British forces occurred and as such is unique in history."[68]

In 1909 Ghanzi was the centre of another episode of Anglo-German colonial cooperation, the Graetz Trans-Africa Expedition, which introduced the automobile along with colour photography into the central Kalahari. On August 10, 1907, First Lieutenant Paul Graetz, then on extended furlough as a military engineer in the German army departed from Dar es Salaam intending to be the first person to cross Africa in a motor car by reaching Swakopmund, a mission he completed on May 1, 1909.

On January 10, 1909, Lt. Graetz had set off from Palapye for the final stage of his journey accompanied by an Australian named Henry Gould and a local African named "Wilhelm". Although the trip across northern Bechuanaland began with torrential rains by the time the trio reached the Ghanzi Farms they were close to perishing of thirst; Gould in a delusional state had nearly killed himself sipping petrol. Having been discovered in near-death condition by Khoe in the area who informed a local farmer the trio and their car were pulled by oxen to the Ghanzi police post for recuperation.[69]

Fig. 7 Anglo-German cooperation in the Kalahari: border marker, German service medal of the type awarded to Bechuanaland and Cape Colony Police in 1907-08, and Lt. Graetz behind the wheel with Gould and Wilhelm leaving Palapye bound for Ghanzi.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 meant that the Ghanzi Farms were positioned along a hostile border. A Boer revolt within the Union of South Africa Defence Force, the Maritz rebellion, resulted in some rebels fleeing across the Kalahari to join the Germans in Namibia. Local folklore recalls loyalist Ghanzi farmers forming a commando to deter German incursions from Gobabis and Rietfontein. Yet notwithstanding these threats, the area was spared serious fighting.[70] By July 1915 the German forces in Namibia had surrendered to the South Africans. Namibia would remain under South African occupation until 1990. In this context many of Ghanzi's white farmers would come to look upon their settlement as a natural extension of Namibia's white farming community, giving rise to support for ultimately bringing Ghanzi under South African jurisdiction.

In 1913 half of the Ghanzi farms had been put up for auction, resulting in a new wave of migration. By 1936 forty-two farms were occupied. Most of those who arrived were Afrikaners, including the Burgers, Coetzees, Kotzes, Goosens, and Van Heerdens, though a few such as Burton, Hardbattle, and the Ramsden brothers were of British origin. But, Rhodes' dream of creating a white settler colony in Ghanzi remained a financial and social challenge for the meagerly financed BP administration. The Resident Commissioner Charles Rey noted:[71]

"The scheme never has been and never could be any good, and the farmers have steadily dropped in the social scale until today they are little better than 'poor whites'. The embargo on cattle exports hit them hard two years ago, followed by an outbreak of malaria and drought, and the next season's heavy rains. They were not able to stand up against it, having no resources in money or food. So, we had to send doctors and quinine by aeroplane, tens of thousands of pounds of grain by lorry, and Ninon's fund for the relief of distress provided them with clothing and other necessities."

In contrast, Margo and Martin Russell in their 1979 book *Afrikaners of the Kalahari,* observed: [72]

"Terms like 'settlement', 'European' and 'farmer' easily obscure the fact that the people so described were neither settled, European, nor farmers, but trekkers, a fact which alone explains much of the failed expectations on both sides, and the marked hostility which characterised colonial attitudes to the trekkers in the Kalahari."

Fig. 8 Gathering of early Ghanzi settlers[73]

Differing expectations may account for certain anomalies. Whereas a 1922 colonial map shows only thirteen "houses" in Ghanzi, a 1920 settler petition contains the signatures of sixty-three "farmers and residents". There was, however, a more fundamental reason behind the grudging attitude of senior colonial officials. The Ghanzi settlers never were quite the isolated, self-reliant pioneers of both their own and others' myths. Further from Rey's diary:[74]

"They can't see that if they don't start new industries they will starve, as there is no market for their cattle and the government can't go on feeding them. As it is we are feeding ninety percent of the Ghanzi (European) population. Our August bill was 4,700 pounds kaffir corn (sorghum), 3,600 pounds mielies, 160 pounds sugar, 35 pounds tea, 35 pounds coffee- and a few other things too. It's a tragic outlook"

From 1910 at least some of the settlers also looked to the colonial government to have local Bushmen confined to locations. For many decades settler interests were articulated through the Ghanzi Cattle and Farmers' Association, which sought to promote white economic and political paramountcy.[75] In addition, petitions were drawn up in 1910, 1920, 1937, and 1954, in which the greater

number of settlers unsuccessfully advocated for the complete or partial removal of non-whites from the district. The 1920 petition went further:[76]

"We also further respectfully beg to draw the attention of Your Excellency to the fact that there are hundreds and hundreds of farms lying waste there and only overrun by game and useless wild Bushmen, who will not work and therefore are of no use or benefit to us or themselves. As these lands belong to the Crown, they may well be apportioned out to our sailors and soldiers (those who desire so) who not only fought our battles but also for our national existence and they surely have a better claim thereto than wild Bushmen."

Protesting that there was only one white policeman posted at Ghanzi Camp (in command of a mounted detachment of mostly Basotho "Native" police) the 1920 petitioners also noted:

"He, therefore, has no time to look out for our interests, or even arrest wild Bushmen who are constantly marauding, setting fire to grass and stealing and slaughtering our stock, and even when we have a complaint against a Native or servant we have to go to a place called Maun where the nearest Magistrate is found...or we have the law in our own hands, which no one can blame us for one of our neighbours has already lost about half his stock from stealing by Bushmen and for him to complain is hopeless."

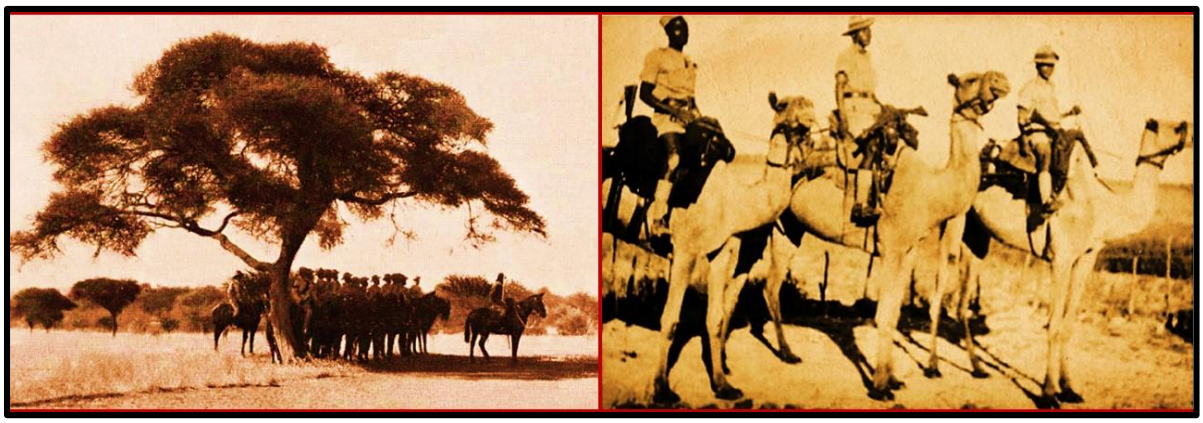

Fig. 9. Ghanzi police patrol on horseback in the early 1900s and on camels in the 1950s.[77]

Partially in response to the 1920 petition, from 1922 a Resident Magistrate was stationed at Ghanzi, beginning with Captain Alan Cuzen.

Additional evidence of tension between the white settlers and the Khoe can be found in some of the reports by colonial officials for the period. In 1929 the Resident Magistrate at Kanye wrote that “Ghanzi farmers often employ Bushmen to drive cattle through the desert and then don’t pay” further alleging as a result of such practices “no Dutchman in Ghanzi will reside alone a night.”[78]

Such reports challenge the narrative that "the nature of Boer-Bushman contact in this region [Ghanzi] was one of accommodation and while social boundaries were rigid, the relationship between the two groups, for the first two generations, was one of interdependence and familiarity, albeit in a paternalistic framework."[79]

While many of the settlers wished the colonial regime to exert firm control over the Khoe, they also called for the removal of the district's other indigenous residents; which at the time notably included Kgalagadi, mostly Bangologa, who were concentrated at Kalkoentjie (Tsetse/Chouteau) and Kuli, Barolong, and Bather who in 1937 were relocated to Karoubi's and Nonane, Nama at Kangas and Ovaherero at Masunda. The 1936 census recorded the district's overall population as consisting of 157 "Europeans," 1943 "Coloured" and 11,164 "Natives".[80]

The 1954 petition further observed that:

"...with the upsurge of African nationalism throughout the length and breadth of Africa ranging from the Sudan, the Mau Mau disturbances, and the African disturbances in the Union of South Africa, your petitioners feel they have a claim to hold the Ghanzi District."

Among the most outspoken early advocates for removing Africans other than Khoe from the District was Tom Hardbattle, who in 1936 protested:[81]

"I have heard a rumour to the effect that certain natives have been, or are seeking permission to squat elsewhere here in the Ghanzi District, amongst the European farms. I beg to point out to you that this is an old grievance of the Ghanzi farmers, & in the past has caused trouble during the past 25 years! The Ghanzi farmers have petitioned the Administration several times to remove the natives out of the Ghanzi District altogether, as according to the agreement made with the original settlers no natives were allowed to be settled anywhere in the district."

Until his death in 1960, T. Hardbattle remained persistent in his vision of Ghanzi as being primarly a homeland for European settlers and subservient Khoe. In 1953 he drafted a historical account for the Mafikeng authorities entitled "How non-Europeans came to settle in the Ghanzi District" arguing like Theophilus Hahn before him that Africans other than Bushmen did not belong in the area:[82]

"When the first settlers came to Ghanzi the late Colonel Panzera came up with them as Special Commissioner. And the settlers made certain conditions, one of them was to the effect that all Africans should be moved out of the Ghanzi District and no other Africans should be allowed to settle therein but should be reserved

for European settlement and all Africans were removed to the Batawana Reserve. Only Bushmen should be allowed to remain."

While the above account was incorporated into the 1954 settler petition, as well as subsequent academic accounts, T. Hardbattle disassociated himself from the petitioners, seemingly no longer seeing the removal of Bantu speakers from the district as a viable option. According to population estimates compiled by the District Commissioner in December 1953 Ghanzi's European population, then numbering less than 300, shared the district with about 11,000 Bushmen and 9,000 other Africans.[83]

Black power in the Kalahari?

The determination of many of Ghanzi's impoverished white settlers to enlist the colonial regime in their efforts to subordinate local Khoe as farm workers, while removing other Africans from the District, gave rise to at least some resentment and unrest. By 1922 indigenous resentment in the Kalahari region of western Botswana as well as Namibia became associated with support for a Khoe uprising and local manifestations of the global "Africa for the Africans" movement of Marcus Garvey.

The uprising began across the border in the Gobabis District of the then South African-occupied South West Africa as a local feud between a Khoe named Samkoa, otherwise known to the authorities as Zamekou, and a German settler family named Bullik. Samkoa's band had lived as "squatters" on the Bullik's farm. Relations between Samkoa and the Bulliks deteriorated after the 1921 death of Mr. Bullik. His widow began complaining to the local authorities of stock theft and intimidation by her farm's erstwhile "boss boy".[84]

In July 1922 a camel patrol sent out to apprehend Samkoa was ambushed and repulsed. Samkoa gained lasting notoriety a few days later when his band, which was estimated to number up to 300, once more clashed with the police, resulting in the death of the Gobabis Magistrate F.J. van Ryneveld. Thereafter Samkoa was seen as a cross-border bandit leader, an evil peril to white settlers of the region but a folk hero to the subjugated Khoe. His following swelled in August 1922 when he raided a Roman Catholic mission station at Epukiro, whose //Ai-khoe labourers then joined his band.

News of the growing threat posed by Samkoa's brigands was communicated to Ghanzi's newly appointed Magistrate, Captain Cuzen by the Acting Magistrate at Gobabis, SWA (South West Africa), Lieutenant E.L. Grayson, in a dispatch dated August 19, 1922:[85]

“I daresay that you have heard that the late Magistrate at Gobabis- Capt. van Ryneveld- was shot by Bushmen on the 26th. ultimo and died by the same day. We have a small force operating against the Bushmen at present- approximately at 21 N and 19 East. These Bushmen have been raiding cattle for several months past on a scale which hasn't been experienced before and threatening anyone who went in pursuit of them. It is possible that the result of the present operations may be that these Bushmen may cross your border."

"At the present time, there is also some form of agitation going on amongst the Hereros, and some of the Bechuanas. On one or two occasions recently, these agitators have come over from Bechuanaland but we have not heard of them until too late to prevent their departure. They wear rosettes of red, blue, and green at their native meetings, and have been explaining how war should be made against the Europeans.

"It seems probable that they have not made many converts but at the same time, it is not wise to disregard the agitation altogether. I don't think that it would be wise to stop the issue of native passes between the two territories as it would be impossible to prevent natives from crossing the border but should you have reason to suspect that any of your natives are constantly crossing the border and are members of any socialistic or other political society, I should be glad if you would advise me."

The Ghanzi Magistrate thus suddenly found himself confronted with two cross-border security threats, Samkoa's /Auen and //Ai-khwe rebels, and reports that agitators wearing "rosettes of red, blue, and green" were stirring up anti-European sentiments. In a follow-up, a Bechuanaland Protectorate Police reconnaissance under Corporal Lancaster found evidence that a "certain native" had indeed passed through the region from Maun to Lehututu spreading "seditious talk", including holding a meeting among the Ovaherero at Kalkfontein.[86]

Cuzen was aware of the source of resentment at Kalkfontein. Its inhabitants who had until recently occupied better land on Ghanzi Ridge were being threatened with further removals. Reporting to his superiors in Mahikeng, he noted:

"There were a few Damaras that came from South West Africa and they got permission from Mr. Pretorius, owner of farm No. 10, to stay there temporarily. When the present owner, Mr. Hardbattle, bought the farm in 1919 he had them removed and they got permission to go to Kalkfontein from the Government temporarily and they managed to put off going to Ngamiland every year."

For Cuzen the identity of Corporal Lancaster's agitator was easier to resolve than the conflicting claims of Ghanzi's Ovaherero and settlers. In April 1923 he reported to Mafikeng:[87]

"Samuel Sheppard is the native who travelled from Maun to Ghanzi, held meetings at Kalkfontein, he then proceeded to Lehututu and towards the Upington District eventually reaching Windhoek after months of travel."

Samuel Karcho Sheppard was already well known to the British, having for decades played a prominent role in Tjiherero politics. In 1877 he inherited from his late father, Saul, the position of Secretary to the Ovaherero ruler Maharero.[88] Thereafter Karcho played a central role in ultimately futile Ovaherero efforts to opt for British protection as a lesser evil to rule by the German Kaiser. After London abandoned any claims over northern Namibia at the 1884-85 Berlin Conference, Karcho assisted Maharero in negotiating an accommodation with the German Governor, Ernest Goering (father of Herman Goering). The result was an October 1885 treaty, in which the Ovaherero accepted the Kaiser's protection in exchange for the ultimately unfulfilled promise of continued autonomy.

The 1890 death of Maharero coincided with the extension of more heavy-handed German authority. Karcho soon fell out with the new Ovaherero paramount, Samuel Maharero, when the latter initially sought to build up his shaky authority by collaborating with the Germans in wars against other indigenous rulers. As part of a well-executed divide and conquer strategy, in 1896 the new colonial administrator, Major Theodor Leutwein, attacked and later executed Samuel's royal rival Nicodemus Kavikunua, along with his ally the Ovambanderu ruler Kahimemua.

Karcho then joined others in fleeing into Ngamiland. This was the first in a series of Ovaherero movements into Botswana, which culminated in the 1905 exodus of several thousand refugees, including Samuel Maharero. In Gatawana, he won the confidence of both Kgosi Sekgoma Letsholathebe and the British Magistrate at Tsau, Lieutenant G.A. Merry. Following the 1905 mass migration he was sent to the border by Sekgoma to act as his eyes and ears and try to mitigate historical tension between the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu.[89] Karcho's intelligence reports to Merry confirmed that the bulk of the Ovambandero immigrants were then occupying the land along the border historically inhabited by Zhu/oasi. But there appears to have been remarkably little tension between the two communities. The Zhu of Namibia had also been victims of the genocidal German regime.

Having been legally liberated from the demands of *botlhanka/bolata*, the Zhu of Gatawana shared with the Tjiherero-speaking refugees a common loyalty to Kgosi Sekgoma. Throughout his reign, the Motawana cultivated the support of

non-Setswana groups as a political counterweight to his royal relatives or dikgosana, who favoured the chieftainship claims of his genealogically senior nephew, Mathiba. The 1906 British intervention on behalf of Mathiba was thus a blow to Karcho's people. After 1912 Karcho joined most of the Ovambanderu in migrating to Sekgoma's new headquarters at Kachikau, along the Chobe. After Sekgoma's death, in 1914, Karcho moved to Rakops, where he became a confidant of the Ovambanderu ruler Nicodemus Kavarure (Kahimemua's successor). There he like many Tjiherero speakers throughout the region at the time was inspired by Marcus Garvey's messianic vision of Africa for the Africans.

The international emergence of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) after the First World War was, in the words of the then British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, viewed as a threat "not only to the British Commonwealth but the whole existing structure of society." At the beginning of 1923, the British Colonial and Dominions Office thus sent a circular to all the administrators of its African territories enquiring about the existence and progress of Garveyite agitation in their areas. The Resident Commissioner at Mafikeng, James Macgregor, promptly responded that:[90]

"There is no evidence of the existence, let alone progress, of Pan-Africanism in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and I do not expect there will be any so long as the tribal system is maintained."

In addition to apparently not taking note of, if not turning a blind eye to, the implications of Cuzen's previous reports of agitators wearing "rosettes of red, blue, and green, at their native meetings" who were further alleged to have preached on "how war should be made against Europeans", Macgregor had also overlooked or been oblivious to a December 1922 intelligence assessment by Captain Stigand from Maun who had also noted the spread of Africanist agitation among the Wayeyi and Khoe in Ngamiland, while adding that:

"The Damara [Ovaherero] *have no country of their own and therefore Bolshevic propaganda appeals to them."*[91]

In light of Macgregor's response to London, one can only wonder if there had initially been some scepticism among the older hands at the Imperial Reserve in Mahikeng when their zealous new, if not overeducated, junior officer on the western border began forwarding dispatches about Bushmen rebellions and "Africa for the Africans" meetings. Not that Cuzen seemed to be the excitable sort. Unlike "Sekoanyana" Stigand, who would link Sebele II's troublesome nature to a Jewish "Hidden Hand," while maintaining the annoying habit of shooting cows, frogs, and lunatics who disturbed his sleep, or the Government

Secretary, "Clob" Dutton, who spent his evenings digging tunnels under his neighbour's lawns, Cuzen appeared to be well balanced.[92]

In April 1923, Macgregor received further reporting from Cuzen that Shepperd had travelled from Rakops to Windhoek addressing U.N.I.A. rallies throughout the western Kalahari. Karcho's meetings were reported to have attracted interested audiences in such diverse locations as Tsau, Kalkfontein, and Lehututu before he proceeded to Namibia via the Northern Cape. He then returned to Botswana, having alluded to S.W.A. Police efforts to detain him. Shortly thereafter Cuzen's anxiety was increased when "Mosarwa" named "Samson" was brought in by his European master to give the following sworn statement:[93]

"I was at Tsau with Mr. P. Lewis and he sent me back to Kgoutsa. While at Makakon a few miles south of Tsau I was spoken to by a Mocuba [Moyei], named Tau, who is living with a Mosarwa woman at Makakon. He told me that he had been to Maun lately and Chief Mathiba told him and others who have posts away from Maun to sell their oxen and buy guns. Tau told me that when the people had sufficient guns, the Batawana would make war against the Europeans, Tau did not tell me to take the message to the Mocubas in this district. I reported the matter to my master, Mr. C. Lewis."

Sensational reports were also emerging from the other side of the border. An informer named Ngxiki reported that:

"Three days beyond Gobabis there were a lot of natives including Hereros, Bushmen, and American Negroes waiting for the white people to come and start a fight. There are altogether about three hundred natives there with rifles."

In November 1922, as fear gripped the region, Cuzen further informed the Government Secretary in Mafikeng, 18 November 1922:[94]

"Referring to my previous reports regarding alleged unrest among the Natives, I have just received information that a rising is contemplated but no time decided upon. The Dutch community are taking precautions, but they fear isolated attacks. A native, whom I could not identify came one evening and told me to take precautions and that I should send my family away. I am doing so. One can now trace the very insolent manner when dealing with the Damaras [in this case Ovambanderu]. *At any rate, I will try to obtain more definitive information."*

News of further developments in the aftermath of Van Ryneveld's death was certainly grounds for alarm:[95]

"Information has been received today that a large number of Bushmen have crossed from Rietfontein, S.W.A. to Okwa, 60 miles south of Ghanzi, where a section of the Makoko [/Auin] Bushmen reside. These travellers carried quantities of reeds from which they make arrows. I was at Olifants drift when the trouble started in S.W.A. before Capt. van Ryneveld was killed, and a number of Bushmen from the Epicuro District came over to see me, they simply begged for tobacco and behaved in the usual manner. They could not live under the existing laws in S.W.A., as they are punished for killing game and must carry Passes and prefer the easy existence on this side. If they are not able to kill game, they will kill cattle."

Across the border, the manhunt for Samkoa ran into more difficulties. On August 18, 1922, an armed police patrol numbering 35 under a certain Sergeant Castle ambushed Samkao's party at Eiseb. The reported result:

"Six Bushmen killed, 23 captured, including leader. No police casualties. Prisoners and 60 women and children being brought in."

In September 1922 the acting Magistrate at Gobabis reported to Cuzen on the prisoner's fate:[96]

"In the end rather more than 100 were dispatched to Gobabis but on the night before they should have reached the village a number of them escaped and 7 have not been recaptured. Among these are Zamekou and his principal adherents. Zamekou himself appears to have obtained an influence over the whole of the Bushmen in his area, which has been most unfortunate. They have been implicated in stock thefts upon an unprecedented scale and have fired not only upon the Police but private individuals..."

Samkao himself was characterised as a "Bushmen age about 35 to 40 good physique and appearance small scare above left eye". An attached "wanted" notice contained further details about lesions caused by handcuffs and leg irons. The South West African authorities believed that the fugitives would seek refuge inside Bechuanaland:

"Zamekou's party was spoored to the East of Alexech 921 1/3 degrees n. and were then heading for the Bechuanaland Protectorate. They are travelling fast and had left their woman and children behind. We are informed that there is a water hole a good bit to the north of Rietfontein and probably within your [Ghanzi] District, which is an old haunt for the wilder Bushmen. Do you know anything about it? It is described by Natives as an underground lake to which the only access is by creeping or rather struggling down a narrow passage of some 20 yds. in length. One old German Police boy says he went there once with a

patrol and it took them 2 long days on good camels from Rietfontein. All the tame Bushmen are agreed that Zamekou has a base somewhere near the border to the N.E. of this and as he disappears in that direction from time to time for considerable periods this is probably true. We are naturally very anxious to round him up."

At the time British knowledge of many areas along the SWA-Bechuanaland border was superior to that of the South-West's South African occupiers, a legacy of pre-World War I military intelligence, as well as the continuous cultivation of networks of "native" informers. In this context, Cuzen was soon able to identify Samkao's likely hideout. In October 1922 he informed his Gobabis counterpart, that:[97]

"There is such a place in South West Africa called Nyae Nyae, three days journey on foot north of Rietfontein [adding] *It has been reported that the Germans buried a number of guns and a quantity of ammunition, during the late war, at the water hole in question."*

To secure Samkao's recapture Cuzen recommended that a Gobabis police camel patrol be authorised to cross into Bechuanaland "provided the Police only carry Revolvers and do not interfere in any way with the Bushmen in this territory."

Notwithstanding such cross-border assistance, the South Africans were unable to recapture Samkao, who was never apprehended. Known police reports instead confirm that local Khoe, more specifically /Auen and //Ai-khwe, resistance to colonial control continued for at least another decade.

Meanwhile, concern over Garveyite agitation in the Protectorate gradually faded as the movement seemingly burned itself out, though its legacy would prove to be more resilient in South Africa and Namibia. In this respect, Garveyism in the Kalahari appears to have been more messianic than strategic in its conception. While the U.N.I.A.'s message at the time was certainly militant, it was not necessarily violent, with Garvy himself seeking League of Nations intervention in Namibia.[98] In the words of a contemporary supporter:

"The aim and objective of this association are founded on the following new facts: The Africans in Africa and abroad are the most exploited, oppressed, maltreated, enslaved, downtrodden, and despised as well as hated because they have no power behind them to protect themselves from the insults and oppression and encroachment upon their rights and liberties from other nations. The Englishman is respectable not because he is respectable, but because he has his own Government to protect him, to force respect for him upon other people. So is the French, the German, the Spanish, and others who have governments of their own

to look after their interests and welfare. Therefore, this organisation strives to uplift the entire Negro race and it aims at setting on foot schemes and plans, which will enable the Negro races to establish a government of their own in Africa, their motherland."

While Ghanzi's colonial authorities maintained a live and let live policy towards so-called "wild Bushmen" under their jurisdiction, their South West African-based counterparts continued to carry out more vigorous measures. From a 1928 report by the Gobabis administrator:

"I have had to send two punitive expeditions against them this year, and more by good luck than good management, we captured some of them and punished them severely. The territory is so large and the Bushman so cunning that an army might seek them in vain."

In addition to South African and British colonial reports, allegations of atrocities against the Khoe population of western Namibia during the interwar period became the subject of Nazi wartime propaganda as reflected in the following translated passage from the 1943 German publication entitled *Diri: ein Bushmannsleben*:[99]

"After Magistrate van Ryneveld was murdered by an unknown Bushman, an evil time emerged for the entire Bushman population. Everywhere in the Protectorate, the British-Boer soldiers and the police were instructed to flush out the Bushman and destroy the hordes. The Bushmen, being used to the mild procedures of the Germans, did not at first take this prosecution seriously not defending themselves as they expected short jail sentences. None of them remained alive: neither man nor woman nor child was spared. How many Bushmen suffered this tragic fate no one can determine precisely…The Bushman plague in the settled part of the territory has been eradicated completely, and the farmers, even those of German extraction, are not angry about the change."

/Auen and //Ai-khwe resistance was ultimately reduced through generations of repression. In South West Africa vagrancy laws were freely used to round up Khoe males, who served out their sentences in chain gangs on settler farms. Over the years such sources of forced labour within South West Africa are known to have been complimented by *defacto* slave raids into Bechuanaland.

As late as 1958 a Ghanzi District Intelligence Report thus speaks of large numbers of local Khoe who were still being “abducted to South West Africa for unpaid involuntary labour.”[100] Some such victims from both sides of the border are said to be still alive [as of 2000], their historic plight having only received serious attention since Namibia’s liberation.

Dual Crown Land

"It would be difficult to deny that some state of serfdom exists in Bechuanaland. Bushmen are often made to work for the Bakalagadi, and a little milk and tobacco is all they receive for their labour…In the same way, the Bakalagadi natives have, in the past, been tributary to the Bechuana tribes, but they have recently asserted their independence, and have been encouraged to do so by the British authorities. An edict has been issued that serfdom must cease in Bechuanaland, but the difficulties of maintaining law in such a huge and desolate area are immense."
W.J. Makin, 1929[101]

The imposition of colonial authority did not initially alter the subordinate relationship that existed between most central Kalahari residents and the leading dikgosana of Molepolole. It did, however, have immediate and lasting consequences for the territory's legal status. In May 1885 Bakwena Kgosi Sechele I, in a document acknowledging British overrule, was pressured into offering Queen Victoria: "the country of Gaina to go as far as the limit of the Bataoana, and take in Duttwe and Morettwe, and reach the pan of Moshui (Thacwe)" with the proviso that "we shall hunt in it while there is still game in it."

This offer was refused. Yet, in November 1895, the British Secretary of State decreed that the northern boundary of the Bakwena Reserve would be a straight latitudinal line from the point halfway between Tsitle and Lowali. The area north of the line, today's CKGR, was declared Crown Land to facilitate its then-envisioned transfer to Rhode's Charter Company.

Sechele's successor, Sebele I, struggled to have the decision altered. The issue came to a head in July 1905 when Bakwena cattle were herded out of the central Kalahari to be watered on the Boteti. After this incident, Sebele was ordered to inform his people of their northern limits.[102] Sebele replied that the Bakwena "are awfully unsatisfied with the north-west boundary as now all water is taken from us." He also wrote to his Mafikeng attorney, Spencer Minchen, stating:[103]

"This is to give you particulars of our complaint. Please find a map and also find our wish which, if possible, can alter the boundary. First of all, we mostly complain about our waters being taken. Secondly of our people being taken by this boundary, big places where our Makgalagadi were living formerly. You will consider the map and see which parts we wish the boundary to run thus from between Kang and Tsetseng we wish the boundary to face Nakatsakgang to

Kotswe thence to Borigwa, thence to Gobaqui, thence to Kasrinate [?], thence to a hill of Tsane to the junction of Khama and Tawana boundaries. Like before we always had our junction with these two other nations, therefore we wish to have this joining spot again."

In the face of a blanket assertion that official acts in the Protectorate were not subject to judicial review, Bakwena land claims remained legally dormant. The British showed little further interest in the region before the 1928 Trans-Kalahari tour by then Imperial Secretary Captain Bede Clifford, which travelled from Mahalapye to Ghanzi through the central Kalahari before proceeding to Ngamiland.[104] In addition to its coverage in various official documents along with Clifford's public report, the tour was also accompanied by an independent journalist, William J. Makin, who produced a book as well as press accounts about the expedition.[105]

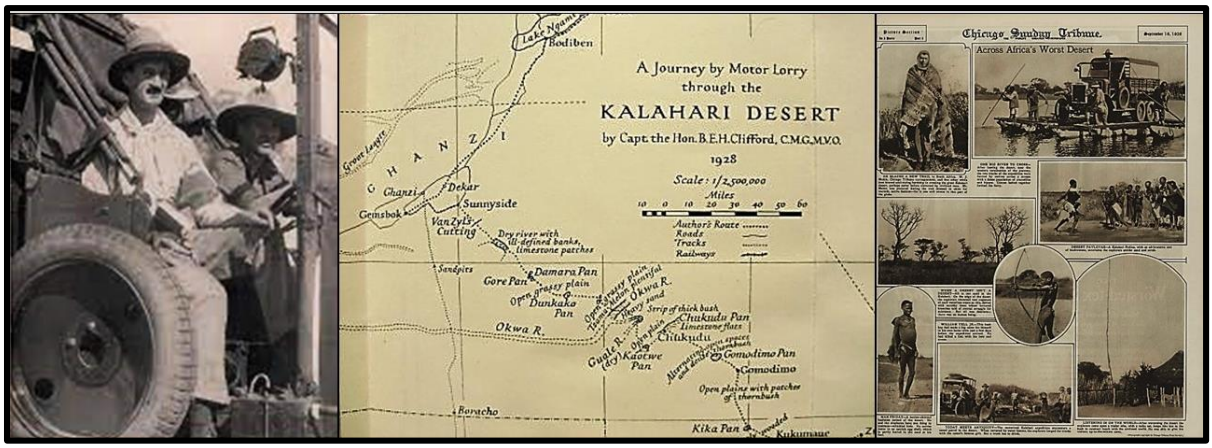

Fig. 10 Left to right Captain Clifford in the Kalahari, map of the route from Kika to Ghanzi and newspaper coverage by Makin[106]

A reconnaissance by a senior police officer carried out before Clifford's arrival, found Padi Sechele (RraBonewamang) in the region collecting tribute for his elder brother, Kgosi Sebele II. Padi moved along a line of settlements stretching from Metsibotloko to Ghanzi, including Kikao, Molape, Kaotwe, Tshukudu, Kukomo, and Kgomodimo.[107] In a follow-up, Molepolole Magistrate, A.G. Stigand concluded that:[108]

"The Chief Sebele and the Bakwena Headmen will have to be informed by Administration clearly and definitively that Kikau is a long way outside their Northern Boundary. All the Bakgalagadi and Bushmen living in that veldt and northward thereof acknowledge Sebele as their Chief."

The first central Kalahari settlement reached by the Clifford expedition was Zuwe, where the local "Bakalagadi" chief, Keli Kielwe, greeted the party wearing the remnants of a German khaki *schutztruppe* uniform. His subjects reportedly

included a “wandering Bushman.” At Zuwe and thereafter Clifford and his team made a show of investigating for any signs of Bushman and Bakgalagadi serfdom in the region. Bechuanaland officials were then mindful of the League of Nations’ determination to cast a global spotlight on instances of slavery around the world. Thus, in May of 1924, the Resident Commissioner, Jules “Ramaeba” Ellenberger, reported to the High Commissioner that: [109]

“Slavery is not known to exist in any part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, but as the relations existing between the dominant tribes of the territory and certain subservient peoples are often apt to be misunderstood by those unacquainted with them and with their law and customs, I enclose an extract from a despatch written in 1906 by Sir Ralph Williams, KCMG, then Resident Commissioner, which makes the matter clear: The position of these people is not slavery in any sense. They are subordinate in the same sense as the Bakgalagari are subordinate to the Bamangwato, the Bakwena, the Bangwaketse, and the Bakhatla tribes; and as the Masarwa are subordinate to the Bakgalagari and the Makoba (Wayeyi).”

The above line of colonial regime defence was broadly accepted by local missionaries and tribal administrations. It came under renewed challenge in 1926 when Simon Ratshosa’s allegations of the existence of Bushman enslavement received international press coverage ranging from the *London Times* to Comintern publications. In response, in April 1927, Ellenberger instructed all Resident Magistrates to investigate the conditions of people working "for the benefit of the tribe." The Magistrates in turn asked the Chiefs to report. On November 1927 Tshekedi Khama, joined by Sebele II and Ntebogang had replied by writing a protest letter to the Imperial Secretary, Captain Clifford, complaining, among other issues, that Ellenberger had released their “Masarwa” and “Makgalagadi" so that they might not be made to work without being paid. To reassure Tshekedi, Clifford had replied:[110]

“With regard to Masarwa, no proclamation has been issued and the Administration does not wish to make any sudden changes but it is anxious that the Masarwa should in due course enjoy the same liberties as the Mangwato and that they should be helped to progress gradually until they reach the same degree of civilisation as the Mangwato ... Government realises that the Masarwa are not slaves, they are a backward people who serve more advanced Bechuana tribes in return for food and shelter they receive.”

The following year forced labour in colonies became a focus of annual meetings of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in Geneva. In Ghanzi this development was accompanied by an incident in which a settler, A.G. Burton, severely flogged a Khoe employee named Namukwe, who he blamed for the killing of one of his calves. The Resident Magistrate at Ghanzi, J. Hope, took the

then unusual step of prosecuting Burton who was convicted and fined for the then not-inconsiderable sum of £10 or one-month hard labour. The Magistrate openly stated that he hoped his judgment would be an object lesson to other farmers. Thereafter further cases of assaults on Bushmen living in the Ghanzi Farms and elsewhere were brought before Magistrates.[111]

Such was the context for the Clifford expedition's focus on the status of "serfs" in the central Kalahari. In this mission, the inhabitants of the remote communities they visited were often less than forthcoming. At Kgomodimo, an expedition member fixed a Lee-Medford rifle belonging to an “old Bushman” who was identified as the local “chief.” He refused to answer queries as to how he had obtained either the gun or ammunition. They were, nonetheless, able to conclude that:[112]

"Through the Central Kalahari, there were numbers of natives living a Gomodimo, Kaotwe, and no doubt other parts who have never heard of hut tax. They are natives employed by Chief Sebele of Molepolole for hunting on Crown Lands. Nearly all the skins collected by these people are taken by the Chief's messengers and brought into him. They informed me that they sometimes received in payment a little dagga or a dog and on one occasion a native got a sovereign. To me, it seems most unfair that these natives are made to work under these conditions instead of being able to sell their own skins and pay their hut tax."

In addition to uncovering further evidence of tribute collection, Clifford’s party encountered livestock all along their route. Between Zuwe and Kgomodimo the spoor of a large herd was discovered and identified as evidence of a cattle smuggling ring run by a certain Jim Taggart, in collaboration with local Batswana. Cattle were regularly moved through the central Kalahari from Ngamiland to Kweneng and Gangwaketse before being smuggled across the border for the then-restricted South African market.[113] In April 1929 a local police corporal, Moses Malata, was engaged in further intelligence gathering. He reported:[114]

“There are many Bakgalagadi and my relations in big villages beyond Kuke and Kikau who do not pay hut tax and who are known to be rich. It looks as if they haven’t got any cattle, but they have many cattle a long way from the road. Some of them have so many cattle that they do not know how many and they also get a lot of skins out of the desert which they barter to the Bakwena. If these people had access to government, they would be able to pay hut tax. They hunt a lot and also have Masarwa hunting for them.”

The above reports are consistent with observations contained in an unpublished c. 1926 manuscript on Kweneng by a resident Anglican missionary, William Clissold:[115]

"Hunting forms another industry and is chiefly carried out by the Makalahari on the edge of the desert, and their Bushman retainers. The 'Wild' Bushman of course lives entirely by this means… The Makalahari leave their homes after the rains for the haunts of the desert buck, lions, leopards, wildcats, wolves, and other animals that come south during this period. They spend 4 or 5 months in the interior, hunting with dogs and guns."

The assumption that all of the central Kalahari inhabitants weren't paying Hut Tax was incorrect. Many were found in Bakwena registers. This arrangement was ultimately accepted for the remainder of the colonial era.[116]

In 1929 the colonial state moved to capture part of the region's commercial revenue. This effort was facilitated by Sebele II's June 1931 banishment to Ghanzi for, among other things, failing to be sufficiently cooperative in tax collection. Sebele was in bed recuperating from illness when he received a message that he was urgently needed at Mahikeng to attend a meeting with the other dikgosi about water developments. But, once in Resident Commissioner Rey's office, on June 2, 1931, he was informed that he had been "relieved of his functions" as Chief and was to be confined to Ghanzi. Shadowed by South African and Protectorate police to prevent any escape, the Kgosi spent the next ten days consulting with his attorney and stream of well-wishers, while sending out urgent messages to his peers, including Dikgosi Tshekedi Khama and Bathoen II, closing each letter with the warning that:

"This does not just affect me, but you all as well, all the Chieftainships of the Northern and Southern Protectorate, and the Union. Help! Help! Help! Our land and nation is going."

Before Sebele's lawyer could file a motion on his behalf he and his wives were taken to the train station, where a large crowd witnessed their departure. The train crossed the Northern Cape Province into Namibia stopping at Gobabis. There another crowd including a brass band greeted their arrival before they were trucked to Ghanzi. At least initially the Mokwena's arrival at Ghanzi, where three modest one-room houses were built for him in the shadow of the gaol, caused a great deal of consternation among the local white settlers, who feared the deference shown to him by much of the local population. Sebele, himself, goaded the British with the claim that they had failed to exile him as he was still in his domain.

Fig. 11 Left to right: Bakwena Kgosi Sebele II in exile at Ghanzi, with his second wife Susan Wolf, Mmamoruakgomo, and supporter Kagiso Kgabo and children. The inclusion of a royal leopard skin in the photos was an affirmation of the Kgosi's continued authority and that of his bloodline.

Even before the second Sebele's removal Bakwena tax collectors were placed under direct colonial supervision. Thereafter those sent into the Kalahari, including Crown Lands, were paired with agents of Max "Raphalane" Hirschfeldt, who had become the largest Molepolole trader through his leading role in the finishing and export of game products.[117]

Working with Raphalane was a turnaround on the part of the authorities, some of whom had treated him with suspicion and jealousy for his commercial success, if not racial contempt based on his Jewish heritage and interracial marriage. In this respect, Hirschfeldt had been at the focus of Stigand's anti-Semitic rants about a "Hidden Hand" that had supported Sebele as an "alternative government."[118] Notwithstanding official hostility, by 1929 the marketing of karosses through Raphalane's firm was Kweneng's principal export earner, with a declared customs value of just over £ 4000 for approximately 18,000 lbs. of skins.[119] Kaross sewing allowed many to avoid the prospect of seeking employment in South Africa. As the missionary Clissold observed in 1926:[120]

"After the hunting season, the Makalahari bring the skins to their Bakwena masters, or to the stores if they are lucky enough to retain a surplus that is not claimed by the former. The sewing of these karosses is a great industry among Bakwena men, and they have done it for years, very skilfully indeed. Nowadays traders often employ several hundred men at a time, but many men carry on the

trade 'on their own', selling karosses at the stations and sidings of the railway. A good wild cat kaross costs about £ 3-10-0 at the store here, but in England, it would cost twice as much or more."

By the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, the continued success of the Kweneng-Kgalagadi game products industry was viewed as an obstacle to maximising labour migration to the Gauteng mines and fledgling war industries.

The discovery of a hidden economy based on herding, commercial hunting, and cattle smuggling in the eastern Ghanzi Crown lands as a result of the Clifford expedition and related police patrols led to an abortive attempt to drill for water.[121] This was to have facilitated policing along the Molepolole to Ghanzi trek route. Scientific and popular interest in the region was further promoted by the 1930 Vernay-Lange Expedition which was tasked with collecting fauna samples throughout much of Botswana for the American Museum of Natural History, with a significant surplus also going to the Zoological Department of the British Museum. In this mission, the expedition travelled from Gaberones Camp (Gaborone) to Ghanzi, virtually retracing the steps of Clifford and company through the Kalahari.[122]

However, by the late 1930s, the future CKGR region was once more all but abandoned by colonial overseers. With the entire Protectorate plagued by severe drought, the region's few wells went dry. Drought, coupled with the successful sinking of boreholes in north-western Kweneng, encouraged an out-migration, which resulted in a long-term shift towards the more seasonal occupation of the area on the part of Bakgalagari.[123]

In addition to environmental factors, more rigorous enforcement of game restrictions also contributed to a decline in the trade of game products by the late 1930s. Whereas the regulation of hunting for most species within the Tribal Territories had remained the prerogative of dikgosi, fauna protection in the Crown Lands was the responsibility of colonial officials whose authority progressively increased. A 1929 Proclamation placed the burden of proof on the accused to show that any game in his possession was not poached. Another Proclamation in the following year provided for the confiscation of any firearms and ammunition in the possession of an accused. By 1940 the mere possession of a gun, trap, or dog in the Crown lands could lead to one's detention.[124]

The decline in the commercial trade in local game products suited those seeking to increase the flow of migrant labour to the South African mines. While some Bakgalagari and Khoe had been going to the mines for decades, the numbers grew after the Second World War. By the mid-1950s the Native Recruiting Corporation was annually contracting 75-100 Bushmen from Kingwana-Khutse.[125]

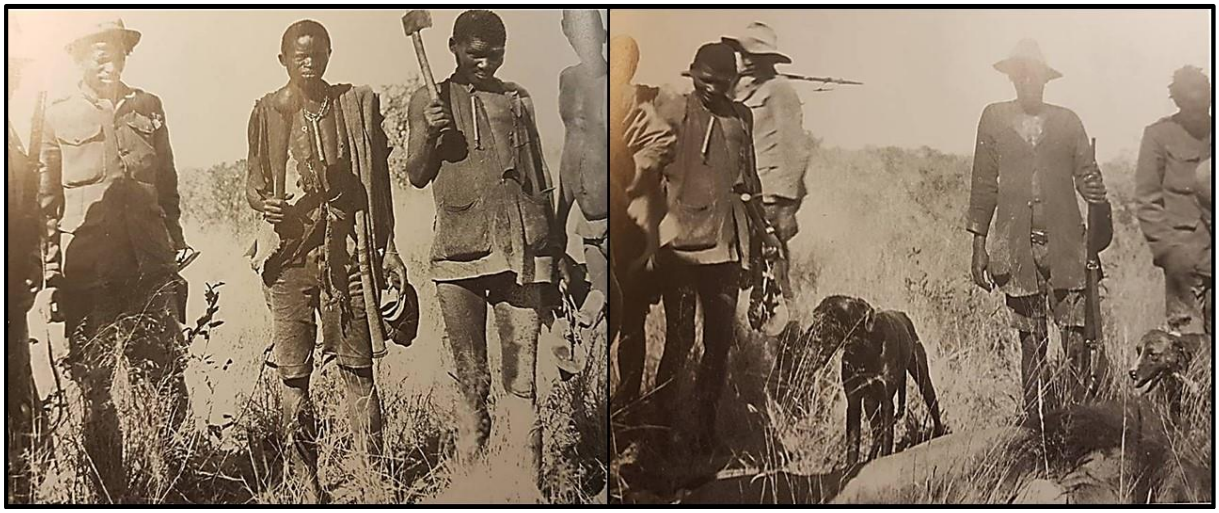

Fig. 12 No bow and arrows here, photos showing Bakgalagari and their Basarwa servants after shooting a lion in western Kweneng in 1932.

Reserving the Bushmen

"Altogether, in the two years between mid-1958 and mid-1960, some seven expeditions were mounted and over 40 scientific personnel have worked for varying lengths of time on the Bushmen of the Kalahari. The studies have embraced physical anthropology, applied physiology, psychology, parasitology, and dentistry. Not only have standard anthropometric and anthroposophic studies been made; blood samples have been collected and blood groups and blood-chemistry assayed; 24-hour urine specimens have yielded information on the levels of excretion of various hormones; for the first time. blood pressure determinations have been made on Bushmen; likewise skin reflectance readings with Weiner's portable spectrophotometer. skinfold measurements with the Harpenden skinfold calliper; fingerprint readings. dental and oral examinations and dental impressions, tests for heat and cold tolerance. psychological performance tests, and a search for parasites in urine and stools, as well as on the person. All combined to make these Kalahari Bushmen from a biological point of view, the most intensively-investigated group of people in this Continent." - Philip Tobias, 1961[126]

After the Second World War the central Kalahari, along with other remote areas of the Protectorate, was invaded by increasing numbers of anthropologists, both amateur and trained, who were interested in observing the Bushmen. In general, this influx was motivated by the belief that the Kalahari was the last refuge of isolated bands of "Wild Bushmen". Academic interest in central Kalahari Khoe was in large part derived from the continued myth that they were, in terms of their physiology as well as way of life, Stone Age remnants. The inconvenient fact that most of the region's Khoe had been in regular contact with Bakgalagari and other

ethnic communities, and had long incorporated Iron Age technology and livestock in their supposedly traditional way of life was disregarded. Having gone to the trouble of looking for living links to mankind's prehistoric hunter-gatherer past a generation of anthropologists were happy to find them even if it meant turning a blind eye to much of the surrounding social reality. As one would later acknowledge:[127]

"These things we ignored, relatively speaking because we didn't come all the way around the world to see them. We could have stayed near home and seen people behaving as a rural proletariat, while nowhere but the Kalahari and a few other remote locations allow a glimpse of the 'the hunting and gathering way of life.' So, we focus on bush camps, upon hunting, upon old fashioned customs, and although we remind each other once in a while not to be romantic, we consciously and unconsciously neglect and avoid the !Kung who don't conform to our expectations."

At first, the academic field of Bushman studies was a largely South African preserve. But, by the 1960s, Khoe in the CKGR and other remote areas was attracting global interest, with the greatest number of scholars coming from North America followed by Japan and later Scandinavia.

One of the early anthropologists known to have specifically studied Khoe in the Kweneng-central Kalahari was Pieter Schoeman whose semi-annual expeditions dating back before the war was considered by colonial officials to be an excuse for trophy hunting. [128] After the Second World War he had, nonetheless, emerged as the Chairman of a South African Bushman Protection Committee that advocated for the creation of Bushman reserves in Namibia and Botswana.[129]

The idea of establishing such a reserve in the Bechuanaland Protectorate had been the subject of serious discussion at least as far back as the late 1930s.[130] The 1937-38 removal of people living on the Botswana side of the Nassob River to establish a Game Reserve adjacent to the already existing Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in South Africa had been justified by the supposed need to "save Bushmen," as well as protect fauna. The affected area was thereafter administered by the South African National Parks Board, an innovation that laid the foundation for the eventual formation of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier National Park. Notwithstanding a rhetorical commitment to provide for the "care of Korannas and Hottentots," as well as Bushmen, virtually all of the 84 "half-caste" families who were forcibly expelled from the area, a total of 483 people altogether, were of Khoe heritage and descent, though their material culture did not conform Bushmen stereotypes.[131]

Popular interest in the area's Bushmen had been promoted at the 1936 "Golden Jubilee Empire Exhibition" in Johannesburg, which had featured 77 Bushmen who had been assembled by Donald Bain, a prominent big game hunter.[132] Thereafter they were also exhibited in Cape Town, where they were also paraded at parliament asking for protection and the right to hunt on a subsistence basis.

Fig. 13 Brought to you by Dodge: Donald Bain with his Kalahari Bushmen at Parliament in Cape Town and enroute from Johannesburg.[133]

Bain had framed his exhibition as a humanitarian campaign to raise public awareness to create a reserve for South Africa's last Bushmen. To promote this vision, he further invited academics from Cape Town (UCT) and Witwatersrand (Wits) to visit his Kalahari hunting camp to study his Bushmen in their supposedly natural state. In addition to publications, Bain's outreach efforts resulted in the formation of a high-ranking inter-territorial standing committee on the Bushmen question.[134] But, this initiative was soon overshadowed by the outbreak of the Second World War.

In the 1950s a Kalahari Research Committee (KRC) was formed at the University of Witwatersrand ("Wits") under the leadership of Professor Phillip Tobias to act as a "coordinating mechanism" for expanded group research.[135] From the beginning, the Wits Committee collaborated with "interested non-university bodies", which included the South African Chamber of Mines and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. Much of the initial research carried out by Tobias was focused on collecting data about alleged biological/racial features that supposedly separated Bushmen from other humans. Initially, Tobias among others considered true Bushmen to be "paedomorphic" or childlike and sought in vain to find a biological basis for their arrested development.[136]

He and others were also especially eager to study Khoe genitalia through such dubious procedures as measuring the length of female labia minora. These lines of inquiry, when combined with some notorious instances of concubinage, have contributed to the popular association within Botswana of such researchers with pornography. In addition to physical examinations and measuring, biological

research carried out under KRC commonly consisted of the collection of urine and blood samples. The latter began in earnest in 1958 when a student from Oxford spent two months in the central Kalahari collecting the blood of any Bushmen he encountered. Dozens of other serological (blood sampling) expeditions followed with early funding and encouragement coming from the Chamber of Mines' Applied Physiology Laboratory. The stated motive for this was to learn about Bushmen's resistance to disease. Little or nothing of scientific value was however found.

To get Khoe to cooperate researchers commonly provided tobacco. Khoe willingness to subject themselves to injections may have also been a confused reflection of the trust that had been created during the mid-1950s by Dr. Alfred Merriweather's Protectorate-wide universal penicillin inoculation campaign. The said effort had led to a dramatic improvement in the health of Kalahari communities.[137]

Creation of the CKGR

The 1961 gazetting of the eastern half of the Ghanzi District as the Central Kalahari Game Reserve or CKGR was a direct result of continued international interest in protecting the Bushmen as supposedly primitive survivors. In 1956 the Bechuanaland Government commissioned an official “Bushman Survey” to be carried out by a colonial officer named George Silberbauer.[138]

The Survey's launch coincided with revived efforts by the colonial state during the 1950s to promote the Ghanzi Farms as a centre for white settler commercial agriculture. This initiative was driven by a Land Settlement Scheme that expanded the number of occupied farms while converting their tenure from leasehold to freehold. By 1960 this had resulted in over 127 farms being surveyed, fenced, and sold at a discount to a new wave of mostly white South African farmers.[139] The initiative was further supported by the subsidized drilling of boreholes, restocking schemes and the servicing of the cattle drive route from Ghanzi to the reopened and expanded Lobatse abattoir. The opening of the latter led to increased competition between indigenous and favoured white pastoralists.

The fencing of the new ranches and introduction of new livestock was accompanied by the introduction of restrictions on local Khoe many of whom lost both access to land and employment on the improved farms in favour of more skilled outsiders.[140] As the Naro and others were more aggressively alienated from their ancestral land by the late colonial regime, official concern focused on their status as increasingly unwanted 'squatters.' There were indeed signs of emerging tension, such as a 1958 incident when the Chairman of the Ghanzi Farmers Association was convicted of assaulting his workers; his response to the

slap on the wrist was to dismiss the workers who had given evidence against him.[141]

The survey's original terms of reference were generally to gather data on and make policy recommendations about, the welfare of "Bushmen" throughout the Protectorate. But, once Silberbauer began his actual fieldwork in 1958, after completing an honours course in social anthropology at Wits, he focused almost all of his efforts on studying G/wikwe communities in the central Kalahari, whom he considered being among the very last of the "Wild Bushmen."

In his eagerness to protect what he initially estimated to be no more than a few hundred wild G/wikwe for his future research, Silberbauer neglected other Khoe in the Protectorate, whom he classified and dismissed as "Borehole Bushmen", "Cattle-post Bushmen", "Squatters" and "Farm Bushmen". People belonging to these latter categories were deemed to not require preservation as their souls had already to varying degrees been lost to acculturation.

Silberbauer's survey thus evolved into a personal research project, which in the end contributed little or nothing to a broader official understanding of the needs of Khoe communities in either Ghanzi or the Protectorate as a whole. In the end, the state-sponsored micro-study had two lasting outcomes: it facilitated its researcher's academic ambitions and directly led to the gazetting of the CKGR. The latter grew out of a Confidential April 28, 1960 memo by Silberbauer to his superiors at Mahikeng, in which he proposed:[142]

"That the portion of the Ghanzi District lying to the east of the Great Tsua Hill (approximately 22'49' degrees east) be declared a game reserve and that the Bushmen be allowed to continue to hunt freely within it. I understand that the draft Game Protection legislation provides for the setting aside of areas as game reserves and restricts the right of entry into them. In effect then, this could be a reserve for Bushmen. [adding] *It appears that there is a certain amount of interest taken overseas in the welfare of the Bushmen and that the Government is not infrequently asked what is being done to further that welfare. In the meantime, it might satisfy the enquirers that an area of 20,000 square miles has been set aside for the Bushmen. On the other hand, I see no merit in going to the trouble of creating a Bushmen reserve as such. It would call for involved administrative measures, possibly necessitate new legislation, and provoke the Ghanzi farmers (who would interpret the measure as likely to spoil their labour market) and possibly also the neighbouring Ngwato and Tawana, who tend to look down on Bushmen and be jealous of any privileges extended to them. It would also be an irrevocable measure; while the overseas outcry would remain within bearable limits of audibility if a reserve for wild-life were un-declared, it would be quite deafening if an indigenous people were involved."*

In his memo, Silberbauer went on to estimate that his proposed reserve contained a permanent population of "about 500 wild Bushmen and a further migrant population of anything up to a thousand who movement [sic] to the Ghanzi farms, Tswana cattle-posts, and Botletle River in the dry season."

The above recommendation was accepted and forwarded for final approval to the High Commissioner in Pretoria.[143] Shortly thereafter, on February 12, 1961, the High Commissioner issued a Notice (no. 33 of 1961) bringing the CKGR into formal existence as a nascent Bushmen homeland. This was done even though many of its inhabitants were neither Khoe nor living exclusively as traditional hunter-gatherers. An immediate consequence of the CKGR's establishment was to thwart renewed efforts on the part of the Bakwena to have part of the territory transferred to the jurisdiction of their Tribal Territory.[144]

Carried out as it was in the final years of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the creation of the CKGR was a departing act of colonial state arrogance. Egged on by lost world academics and at least partially inspired by South African efforts to create a Bushmanland in occupied Namibia as part of Pretoria's broader Grand Apartheid vision for the region, as outlined in the 1954-55 Thomlison Report, a handful of white colonial officers, with casual indifference to the views of either its inhabitants or the nationalist sentiment of the soon to be independent nation as a whole, proceeded to permanently alter the legal status of some ten percent of Botswana's territory.[145] A notable feature of the documentary evidence on the Reserve's creation is the absence of any recognition of the interests of the non-G/wikwe residents within its boundaries, an oversight that would prove to be persistent.

Having established his homeland, Silberbauer proceeded to draft regulations to govern its existence, hoping that it would be placed under his, that is the Bushmen Survey Office's, jurisdiction. He expected that his Wild Bushmen would thus continue to be objects of anthropological research while being allowed, if not positively encouraged, to live and hunt in the Reserve. But this was not to be. When the regulations for the CKGR finally appeared, in the form of Government Notice No. 38 of 1963 no special concession was made for the Khoe or anyone else to hunt without a permit. Small stock, in particular goats, which most of the inhabitants relied upon for their livelihoods were for the first time banned.[146]

Silberbauer's protests that such standard game reserve regulations were contrary to the special ethnographic purpose of the CKGR were ignored in the context of Botswana's accelerated transition to independence.[147] This was the case despite calls in the British Parliament and others quarters for Botswana's independence

to be linked with the establishment of a permanent 'Bushman Reserve" to prevent the "extermination of the Bushmen of the Kalahari."[148]

Silberbauer had also proposed several infrastructure developments to make his Bushmanland more viable, including the immediate sinking of twenty borehole wells. But this was also rejected. One borehole had been drilled at Xade in 1962, which thereafter became the rather untraditional home of about three-quarters of the Reserve's inhabitants.[149] Silberbauer left Botswana to ultimately become a professor of anthropology in Australia. In 1981 he produced a 330-page tome on the G/wikwe of the CKGR that gives minimal attention to their past and present interaction with other peoples.[150]

In 1971 the adjacent Khutse Game Reserve in Kweneng was proclaimed, while in 1976 the boundaries of the CKGR were modestly adjusted to return a triangle of land to Kweneng. Otherwise, the legal status of the Reserve remained unaltered over the next half century, even as it became the focus of international legal debate.

During the 1970s and 1980s, there was a continued influx of anthropologists into the Reserve and surrounding areas, including a wave of Japanese scholars from Kyoto University and members of the University of New Mexico Kalahari Research Project following in the footsteps of the Harvard Kalahari Research Project.[151]

A few zoologists or wildlife researchers also arrived. Prominent among the latter group was an American couple, Mark and Delia Owens, whose 1984 book on their experiences living off and on in Deception Valley between 1974 and 1981 became an international bestseller.[152] Besides passages revealing their ignorance and/or contempt for Botswana as a state full of "terrorists," the book confirms in passing subsequent allegations that their residence in the CKGR, a camp with a makeshift airstrip, was intrusive and could have been reasonably construed as a national security threat during a period when Botswana's territory was repeatedly violated by South African security forces:[153]

"After puzzling over the featureless map for some time, we finally devised a route in the Kalahari and, having done so, decided that we would go there without telling the Department of Wildlife."

After 1979 the Owens were joined by some other, mostly South African-based, wildlife conservation advocates in an overt and sustained campaign aimed at undermining Botswana's commercial beef industry. Their collective contention was that cattle, as well as cattle disease cordon fences ("fences of death"), were incompatible with wildlife.

For spice, they added that Botswana's democracy was a "beefocracy" whose steak-holders were hell-bent on destroying a unique environment. They thus felt it only proper to lobby the European Union to close its market to Botswana beef. In the process, there were also calls for the boundaries of the CKGR and other wildlife protection areas to be increased. Boosted by two scurrilous but popular television documentaries- National Geographic's "African Odyssey", which filmed the Owens being thrown out of the CKGR, and Rick Lomba's First National Bank of South Africa sponsored, Turner Broadcasting Service platformed, "End of Eden"- Botswana's international image was under threat. The latter film has been described as:[154]

"The most sensational film ever made on Botswana. It attacked the Botswana government as corrupt 'cattle barons' backed by diamond monopolists, dedicated to draining of the Okavango swamps for diamond mining at Orapa, and to the destruction of wildlife to be replaced everywhere by cattle."

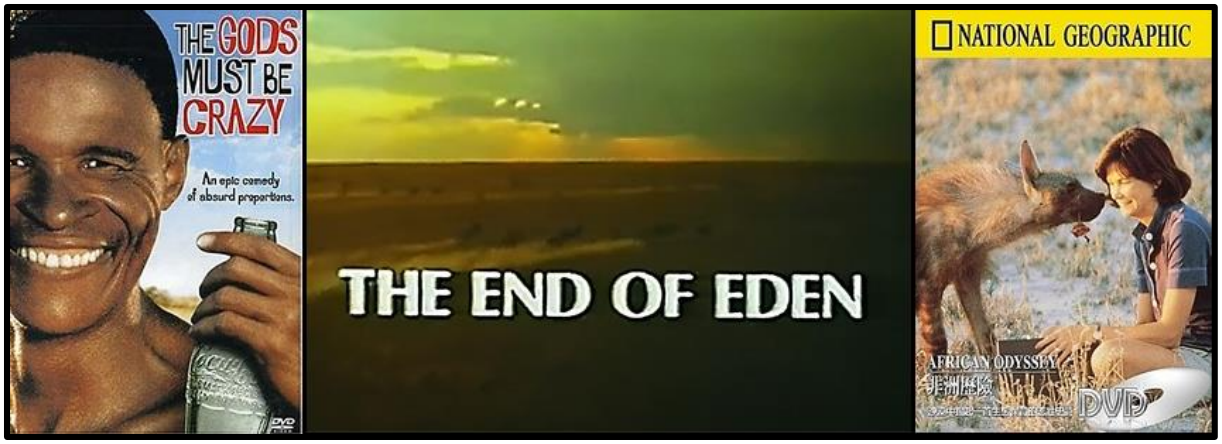

Fig. 14 Not so innocent

At the time there were strong suspicions that Lomba's narrative, if not the man himself, was being promoted by elements of the Apartheid regime to pressure the Botswana Government into cooperating on cross-border security issues.[155] But, unlike in the case of Jamie Uys's "The Gods Must be Crazy," which is known to have received South African state funding while peddling its security tropes, any direct link between Lomba's film work and Pretoria securocrats is unproven. Whatever may have been the motives of some of its proponents, the ban Botswana beef campaign ultimately reached the American Congress and European Parliament, as well as a worldwide audience through commercial media. Only very belatedly did it receive any popular press coverage within Botswana.[156]

In 1985 the Botswana Government appointed a fact-finding mission to re-examine the CKGR's status, with an emphasis on establishing who was living there and what might be done for their benefit.[157] Thus, for the first time, a proper survey was done of the area's demography, which found a total population of

1177 divided between G/wikwe (47%), G//anakwe (15%), and Bakgalagari (37%), with a handful of ethnic Batswana. Most of the population was concentrated at either Xade (860) or Gope (200), with seven smaller settlements or camps also enumerated.

Having identified some options for the CKGR's future, the mission recommended to Government that the Reserve be partitioned to cater to the divergent interests of wildlife conservation and Remote Area Dweller development. It was suggested that the CKGR's southern two-thirds, an area of approximately 34,000 kilometres lying south of latitude 22 degree south, be de-gazetted as a Game Reserve and reclassified as a Wildlife Management Area. This would have allowed for controlled hunting and other activities by local inhabitants. Up until then, it was said the Wildlife Department had been turning a blind eye to and/or freely issuing special game licenses for small-scale hunting by those living in the Reserve. But this laxity was now coming under the spotlight of international criticism.

The Mission further recommended that the status quo of the all but uninhabited northern third of the CKGR, encompassing some 17,100 square kilometres, be maintained. Said area included Deception Valley. The Mission's recommendations were almost immediately rejected in a Ministry of Commerce and Industry (then responsible for wildlife) circular and subsequent July 15, 1986, Government White paper on Remote Area Dweller (RAD) settlements in the CKGR. The later document proposed that existing settlements in the Reserve be relocated. This was at least in part due to the pressure that had by then been exerted within the European Parliament for expanded wildlife protection.

In 1986, Botswana's Lome Convention access to the EU beef market was up for review. Responding to the criticisms by the Owens, Lomba, and their fellow travellers, the European Parliament had prepared a "Working Document" entitled: "Report drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation on the disturbance of the ecological balance of Botswana."[158] Said report became the basis of a European Parliament resolution against the proposed partition.

At the time the conservationist contended that the Bushmen or San (all others being once more ignored) should only be allowed to hunt in the CKGR using traditional methods in conformity with the wild Bushmen stereotype. Otherwise, those who wanted development should be relocated outside the Reserve.

External calls to keep the CKGR free from hunters and herders were, however, beginning to be countered by the emergence of global networks advocating for the land and natural resource rights of the Reserve's Bushman/San (G/wikwe and G//anakwe). In addition to the continued output of anthropologists operating in

and around the region, in 1987 renewed global attention on the CKGR as a supposed refuge of Bushmen hunter-gatherers was generated as a result of a four-day private visit by Prince Charles, who was accompanied by his “mentor and guru” Laurens Van Der Post.[159] On his bonnie safari, the Prince of Wales reportedly experienced a "vision of earthy eternity."[160] He would subsequently give limited support to the efforts of the London-based protest group Survival International to pressure the Botswana Government to reverse its relocation efforts.

Since the 1990s this dichotomy of perspectives about the future CKGR has given rise to still ongoing domestic and international conflict.

Postscript – People with History

Notwithstanding the modest success of some of its subsidised commercial farmers and local businesses the majority of Ghanzi's inhabitants live in a state of relative material impoverishment. In this, they are hardly unique. Measured in terms of its social welfare statistics one might conclude that there is little that is remarkable about the Ghanzi when compared with other outlying areas of Botswana. Features that do set the area apart include its history, its ethno-linguistic diversity, and, perhaps most notably, the extent of outside attention it has attracted.

For generations, the district's Khoe communities, along with their linguistic cousins living in other parts of the Kalahari, have been among the most studied and documented peoples in the world. Yet, at least before the 1990s, they may have been the least listened to, much less understood. During the period covered by this monograph, the lives of the Kalahari Khoe were something outsiders talked about. Over the years many outsiders, from colonial agents and showmen to anthropologists, paternalistic employers, and Westminster Parliamentarians have also assumed the authority to talk for them. But the Khoe, individually and collectively, have been generally ignored or denied platforms for self-expression. Despite the emergence in recent years of indigenous advocacy groups such as *Kgeikani Kweni* or First People of the Kalahari (FPK) in Ghanzi, their voices are still often being side-lined in Botswana and the global village. While the newspaper articles that have been edited into this monograph do speak at some length about the District’s Khoe, along with their non-Khoe neighbours, they were never intended to speak for anyone. In the twenty-first century, it should be self-evident that people must be allowed to speak and be heard for themselves.

The indigenous peoples of the Kalahari, a term understood by this author to embrace Khoe and non-Khoe (i.e., ethno-linguistic Bantu) communities alike collectively constitute an example of what the historical anthropologist Eric Wolf

ironically characterised as "the people without history." Wolf intended to cast a universal spotlight on societies that had long lived on the periphery of the colonial economy yet have not been given a voice in post-colonial historiography despite their cultural, social, and economic participation in, and transformation by, global systems.[161]

Before Botswana's independence the concept of a "people without history" was explicitly promoted about the indigenous population of Botswana as a whole by the British Colonial Regime, as reflected in the following passage from the official 1965 publication *Bechuanaland*:[162]

"Happy is the nation that has no history. By this standard there can be few nations in Africa happier than Bechuanaland, for apart from the inter- and intra-tribal conflicts normal to the African continent before its emergence into modern life and thought, its record is remarkably free of incident of any kind. The Batswana offered an equally friendly reception to missionaries, traders, and soldiers alike when they came to offer their various receipts for happiness, and since the British drew a line on the map and said 'This is Bechuanaland' they have lived quietly and undemandingly for seventy uneventful years."

The twentieth century imperial order's promotion of such institutionalised ignorance provides a context for appreciating Seretse Khama's famous 1970 call for embracing indigenous history as a guidepost of national empowerment:[163]

"We were taught, sometimes in a very positive way, to despise ourselves and our ways of life. We were made to believe that we had no past to speak of, no history to boast of. The past, so far as we were concerned, was just a blank and nothing more...It should now be our intention to try to retrieve what we can of our past. We should write our own history books, to prove that we did have a past and that it was a past that was just as worth writing and learning about as any other. We must do this for the simple reason that a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past are a people without a soul."

In the case of Ghanzi and the CKGR colonial era denial of indigenous history has been reinforced by a popular belief in the area's timeless nature. A misguided view of the central Kalahari as a place of natural innocence, a lost world inhabited by primordial hunter-gatherers and wildlife unaffected until recently by modern humankind's greed, has been perpetuated in too much of the mid-twentieth century anthropological scholarship as well as in pop culture. This has resulted in the stereotype of remote areas of the Kalahari as an Untamed Eden that continues to distort perceptions about the Ghanzi District's present and future options for development, as well as past evolution.

ENDNOTES

[1] Ramsay, J. "The Rise and Fall of the Bakwena Dynasty of South-Central Botswana, 1820-1940." (Boston University PhD. Thesis, 1991) @ https://www.academia.edu/90978159/Jeff_Ramsay_The_rise_and_fall_of_the_Bakwena_dynasty_of_South_Central_Botswana and Ramsay, J. "Some Notes on the Colonial Era History of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve Region," *Botswana Notes and Records* Vol. 20 (Gaborone, Botswana Society, 1989), 91-94.

[2] In particular, I wish to acknowledge Edwin Wilmsen, Neil Parsons, Barry Morton, and the late Alec Campbell for their critical interactions.

[3] Ghanzi will remain Botswana's largest district by size, even if proposals to transform its Charles Hill sub-district into a separate district move forward.

[4] Different sources put the ridge's length at between 250 and 500 kilometres, the ambiguity arises in part from its association with adjacent geological formations.

[5] Population figures from Statistics Botswana, online @ https://www.statsbots.org.bw/.

[6] Barnard, A. "Basarwa Settlement Patterns in the Ghanzi Ranch Area" in *Botswana Notes and Records* (Gaborone Botswana Society 1980) Vol. 12, 137-49, 139.

[7] *Aerial Census of Animals in Botswana Dry Season 2012,* Government of Botswana publication available online @ https://library.wur.nl/ojs/index.php/Botswana_documents/article/view/15991/15464. While the prominence of the Ghanzi ranches in Botswana's commercial livestock sector is well established, overall estimates of the size of the national herd and its distribution have fluctuated greatly over the decades, for recent discussion see G.O. et.al "Demographic profiling and characterization of cattle and cattle farmers in Botswana" *African Journal of Agricultural Research* Vol. 17(4) (April 2021), 571-581, DOI: 10.5897/AJAR2020.15361. Also https://www.botswanatourism.co.bw/explore/ghanzi.

[8] Campbell, A. *Guide to Botswana,* (Johannesburg, Winchester Press 1968) 375. This explanation was adopted in 1970 by the Botswana Place Names Commission.

[9] Le Roux, W. "A short history of Ghanzi" (2005) posted on *Ghanzi Geskiedenis saambou vir Onthou* website @ https://ghanzigesk.wixsite.com/ghanzi/a-short-history-of-ghanzi-district.

[10] Andersson, C. J. *Lake Ngami or Explorations and Discoveries during Four Years Wandering in the Wilds of South West Africa* (London, Hurst, and Blackett Publishers, 1855) 383.

[11] Botswana National Archives (BNA) H.C. 145/1 (Also at Public Records Office (UK) Colonial Office 417/141) "Report from Mokeng" by Captain Fuller. Guenther, M. "Lords of the Desert Land: Politics and Resistance of the Ghanzi Basarwa of the Nineteenth Century" *Botswana Notes and Records* (Gaborone, Botswana Society) Vol. 29 (1997), 121-141: 127. Morton, B. "Ghanzi to 1900," unpublished manuscript.

[12] Lepekoane, P. "Bakgalagadi settlements in historical and ethnoarchaeological perspective" *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* Vol. 15 no. 1 (2001), 3-22, 6. The word "Basarwa" has long been used by Shekalagari (Sekgalagadi) speakers, e.g., Schapera, I. "Ethnographical Texts in the Boloongwe Dialect of Sekgalagadi" *Bantu Studies* (Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand) Vol. 12, 3, 157-188. DOI:10.1080/02561751.1938.9676076. Among Setswana speakers "Masarwa", now considered pejorative, was more common in the past.

[13] Denbow, J. "A New Look at the Later Prehistory of the Kalahari" *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1986), 3-28. Since the 1980s revisionist arguments have been driven by the collective works of Jim Denbow and Edwin Wilmsen, e.g., "Paradigmatic History of San-Speaking Peoples and Current Attempts at Revision" with replies by M. G. Bicchieri, Lewis R. Binford, Robert Gordon, Mathias Guenther, Richard B. Lee, Robert Ross, Jacqueline S.

Solway, Jiro Tanaka, Jan Vansina and John E. Yellen in *Current Anthropology* Vol. 31, No. 5 (Dec. 1990), 489-524 and "Prehistoric herders and foragers of the Kalahari: The evidence for 1500 years of interaction" in Schrire, C. (edit.) *Past and Present in Hunter-Gatherer Studies* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984), 175-94. Wilmsen, E. *Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). These and subsequent contributions by the pair and other scholars have fuelled a still ongoing "Kalahari Debate" about the history of the 'Bushmen,' San or Khoe among anthropologists and archaeologists: Alan, B. "The Kalahari Debate: A Bibliographic Essay." (Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 1992) Notable among the critics of Wilmsen and Denbow's historical reconstructions have been the tag team of Richard Lee and Mathias Guenther, e.g., "Oxen or Onions? The Search for Trade (and Truth) in the Kalahari" in *Current Anthropology* Vol. 32, No. 5 (Dec. 1991), 592-601 and "Problems in Kalahari Historical Ethnography and the Tolerance of Error in *History in Africa*, Vol. 20 (1993), 185-235. Also, Lee. R. and Solway J. "Foragers, Genuine or Spurious? Situating the Kalahari San in History," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 33, No. 1, Supplement: Inquiry and Debate in the Human Sciences: Contributions from Current Anthropology, 1960-1990 (1992), 187-224, of which 189-193 deal with Western Kweneng San with a limited historical perspective on the Bakwena state of under Sechele and his successors.

[14] For late colonial perceptions see Silberbauer, G. *Report to the Government of Bechuanaland on the Bushman Survey* (Gaborone, Bechuanaland Government Printer, 1965)

[15] Vossen, R. "Studying the linguistic and ethnohistory of the Khoe-speaking (central Khoisan) peoples of Botswana, research in progress" *Botswana Notes and Records* (Gaborone, Botswana Society 1984) Vol. 16, 19-35. Hasselbring, S. "Where are the *Khoesan* of Botswana" in H. Birgit Smieja, B. (edits.) *Botswana: The Future of the Minority Languages*, *Duisburg Papers on Research in Language and Culture* (Frankfurt, Peter Lang 2000), 13-31. For a more recent compilation see Chebanne, A. "A Sociolinguistic Perspective of The Indigenous Communities of Botswana" Kyoto University African Study Monographs (2008), 29(3): 93-118.

[16] Variations in the transcription of Khoisan terms have reflected a lack of consensus on orthography among indigenous speakers as well as outsiders. While the International Phonetic Association has developed a partial orthography for various click sounds that has, however, its guidelines have not been universally embraced, see discussion in Kiema, K. *Tears for my Land, A Social History of the Kua the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Tc'amnqoo*, (Gaborone, Mmegi Publishing House, 2010), 13-14. In this article, I have tried to adhere as best as I can to the most widely accepted spellings.

[17] Hitchcock, R. "The Impacts of Conservation and Militarization on Indigenous Peoples: A Southern African San Perspective" *Human Nature* Vol. 30 (2019) DO - 10.1007/s12110-019-09339-3.

[18] Wilmsen, E. "Those who have each other, San relations to Land" in Wilmsen, E. (edit.) *We are Here, The Politic of Aboriginal Land Tenure,* (London, University of California Press 1989),43-67. Wilmsen, E. and Denbow, J. "Paradigmatic History of San-Speaking Peoples…" 491. Wilmsen, E. *Land Filled with Flies*, 186-97. Guenther, M. 1997. "Lords of the Desert Land". Early recognition of local land tenure and social hierarchy can be found in Kaufmann, H. Die "ǂAuin: Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung" in *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten* 23 (1910). 135-160, 155.

[19] Works by Wilmsen, E. and Denbow, J., e.g., "Paradigmatic History of San-Speaking Peoples…" Schapera, I. *The Khoisan People of South Africa, Bushmen and Hottentots*, (London, Routledge & Kegan, 1930), 146.

[20] Vedder, H. *South West Africa in Early Times: Being the Story of South West Africa up to the time of Maherero's Death in 1890.* (Published in German in 1934, first English translation 1938, reprint London: Frank Cass, 1966), 141.
[21] McCabe, J. "Journal kept during a tour in the interior of South Africa to Lake Ngami and the Country Two-Hundred and Fifty Miles Beyond," was originally published in *The Friend* (Bloemfontein) newspaper and subsequently reprinted in Holden, W.C. (edit.) *History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa* (London, Alexander Heylin, 1855), 413-34, 422.
[22] Schapera, I. and Van der Merwe, D.F. *Notes on the Tribal Groupings, History, and Customs of the Bakgalagadi*, University of Cape Town Communications from the School of African Studies New Series no. 13, September 1945. Kuper, A. "The Kgalagadi in the Nineteenth Century" *Botswana Notes and Records*, (Gaborone, Botswana Society Vol. 2 1970), 45-51.
[23] Guenther M. "Lords of the Desert Land," 126, further citing Sundermeier, T. "The Mbanderu (Windhoek, Michael Scott Oral Record Project, ND). Mutjise was the great-grandfather of Maharero (Kamaharero), being the son of Tjamuaha, son of Tirwe son of Mutjise, son of Mbunga, son of Tjituka, son of Kasupi, son of Vatje, son of Kengeza…" @ https://www.klausdierks.com/Biographies/Biographies_M.htm.
[24] BNA S. 3/1, Resident Magistrate Ghanzi to Government Secretary, 17.2.1926. Also, Alnaes, K. "Oral Tradition and Identity: The Herero in Botswana," (ICS Postgraduate Seminar Paper, London 1980) @ https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/8766718.pdf; who further cites Schapera, I. in his "Notes on some Herero Genealogies" (Cape Town: Communications from the School of African Studies, New Series No. 14, 1945)
[25] The association of the terms "Bushman," "Basarwa" and "San" with lack of livestock and/or other forms of economic marginalization, as opposed to ethno-linguistic identity, is well established. In this respect, Wilmsen, E. *Land Filled with Flies*, 84-85, speaks of a process of "bushmanizing" citing such examples as Theophilus Hahn's 1881 observations that "The poor Namaqua [Nama-khoe also referred to by outsiders as Hottentots, Makgothu or Bakgotjhu) are called by others Bushmen, especially when they are servants, or lead a Bushman's life, and have no cattle or sheep."
[26] Nicholson, S. "Climate, Drought, and Famine in Africa," in Hansen, A. & McMillan, D.(edits.) *Food in Sub-Saharan Africa*. (Boulder: Lynne Reiner, 1986), 111-19.
[27] In addition to emerging archaeological findings, early European references to extensive trading in the region include 18th-century observations by Hendrick Wikar in Mossop, E.E. (edit.) *The Journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) and the Journals of Jacobus Coetse (1760) and Willem van Reenen (1791).* (Cape Town, Van Reibeeck Society, 1935) original Dutch texts with English translations, cited by Wilmsen E. *Land Filled with Flies,* 88.
[28] BNA S 3/1, Evidence of and collected by Moses Malata, 1926.
[29] This author's attention was initially drawn to the issue in discussions with Neil Parsons who subsequently published an in-depth look at one 'Bushman' victim in Parsons; N. *Clicko, The Wild Dancing Bushman* (Auckland Park, Jacana Media, 2009). A well-documented example is Leonard Wood, aka "The Great Farini" whose interest in Bushmen as objects of entertainment was a motivation for his 1885 journey across parts of western Botswana, described in the 1886 book Farini, G. A. {Leonard Wood) *Through the Kalahari Desert: A narrative of a journey with gun, camera, and note-book to Lake N'Gami and back* (Cape Town, C. Struik reprint, 1973). Peacock, S. *The Great Farini, the High Wire life of William Hunt* (Toronto, Penguin 1996) also Peacock, S. "Africa meets the Great Farini" in Lindfors, B. (edit.) *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business* (Cape Town, David Phillip 1999), 81-106. Among the growing body of additional works on the evolving (mis)representation of Khoisan speakers is the Museum exhibition monograph by Skotnes, P. (edit.) *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen* (Cape Town University of Cape

Town Press, 1996). More recently - Barbash, I. *Where the Roads All End: Photography and Anthropology in the Kalahari*.

[30] Van der Post, L. *The Lost World of the Kalahari*, which was a six-part 1956 BBC television series before being produced as a bestselling book by the same name (New York, Morrow, 1958), Additional works include *The Heart of the Hunter* (London, Hogarth Press 1961), etc. Jamie Uys films *The Gods Must be Crazy* (1980) and *The Gods Must be Crazy II* (1989). The 1950-61 output by members of the Marshall family is documented by Barbash, I. *Where the Roads All End: Photography and Anthropology in the Kalahari* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2016). Silberbauer, G. *Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari Desert* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). A 2023 Google search of "Botswana, untamed Eden" yielded over 600,000 results.

[31] Vierich, H. *The Kau of the South-eastern Kalahari – A study in the Socio-Ecology of Dependency* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto), 90.

[32] Campbell, A. "Archaeology in Botswana: Origins and Growth" and Lane, P. "Ethnoarchaeological Research – Past, Present, and Future Directions" in Lane, P. Reid A. and Segobye, A. *Ditswe Mmung the Archaeology of Botswana* (Gaborone: Botswana Society and Pula Press, 1998), 40, 180-98. Wilmsen, E. and Denbow, J. "Paradigmatic History of San-Speaking Peoples…"

[33] The issue of *malata* as slaves is covered by Morton, B. "Servitude, Slave Trading and Slavery in the Kalahari", in Eldredge, E. and Morton, F. (edits) *Slavery in South Africa, Captive Labour in the Dutch Frontier* (Westview a & University of Natal Press, 1994), 215-50. Batawana oppression of Wayeyi is discussed by Motsamai Mpho in the context of his family's experience in *The Autobiography of Motsamai Mpho*, as compiled by Wayne Edge (Gaborone, Lebopo Publishers 1996), 4-13. Morton and Mpho challenge Tom Tlou's earlier, more benign, interpretation of servitude in the region as "*botlhanka*" without reference to "*bolata*" – Tlou, T. *A History of Ngamiland, 1750 to 1906: The Formation of an African State* (Gaborone, Macmillan Botswana, 1985), 51-62.

[34] Schapera, I. and Van der Merwe, D.F. *Notes on the Tribal Groupings,* original Shekalagari text: *"Balala le Basarhwa ba rhuiwa be bagumi heri. Ba tyhwisa benye ba bo kga rityhezwa le madalo a bo-those, le a bo-phokozwe. Bonye ba ba naa motsoku le ritya go rhe ba a go zumisa, be tshela kga nama, ba nee benye ba bo madalo. Basari ba bagumi ba rhua Basalagari le Balalasari, be da be tshwerhe rityhezwa be dile go ri naya bagumagari wa bagumi."*

[35] Schapera, I. (edit.) "Ethnographical texts in the Boloongwe dialect of Sekgalagadi," *Bantu Studies* Vol. 12, 1938, 157-87, available at BNA BNB 1458. In addition to Gaoonwe Seloilwe's 'Sekgalagdi,' the texts are reproduced in 'Sekwena' for linguistic comparison and English translation. In the Sekgalagadi texts, the Khoe were notably referred to as "Basarwa' while they were called "Masarwa" in the Sekwena text and "Bushmen in the original English text. BNA S 442/4: At the time of the publication Gaoonwe was an NCO in the BP Police, in 1941 he became the Kgosi of the Baboloongwe booMorimo at Letlhakeng.

[36] Mackenzie, J. *Ten Years North of the Orange River, A story of Everyday Life and Work among the South African Tribe, from 1859 to 1869* (Edinburg Edmonston and Douglas 1871), 128-29.

[37] Mautle, G. "Bakgalagadi-Bakwena Relationship: A Case of Slavery c. 1840 to 1930" University of Botswana B.A. Dissertation, with appended interviews (1981) subsequently published in *Botswana Notes and Records* (Gaborone, Botswana Society, 1986), Vol. 18, 19-31. Also, Okihiro, G. *A Social History of the Bakwena and Peoples of the Kalahari of Southern Africa, 19th Century* (Edwin Mellen, 2000) and Ramsay, J. "The Rise and Fall of the Bakwena Dynasty of South-Central Botswana."

[38] BNA Resident Commissioner (RC) 5/12 "Sebele, misbehaviour of, Friction in Bakwena Tribe."
[39] Notable, rarely tapped, sources at BNA include BNA S 3/1 History of Tswana Tribes, including History of the Bangwaketse Tribe, provided by Tiro Motlhabane and History of the Bakwena Tribe – Note from information given to Capt. Stigand by Headman Kgabo Tebele and Headman Mochwakhumo Kgosidintsi. BNA DC Molepolole "History of Bakwena; BNA Schapera Papers PP 1/1/10 Bakwena. Also, Schapera, I. and Van der Merwe, D.F. *Notes on the Tribal Groupings* and Schapera, I, "A Short History of the Bangwaketse" in African Studies Vol 1 (Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand, 1942), 1-26.
[40] Schapera, I. *Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs*, 126. *"Ke gana gobolawa Bakgalagadi, basetlhana basenang ditsabone; ngwana wadikgomo oja badikgomo kaene, motshwena aje batshwana kaene."*
[41] BNA 421/5 "List of Administrative and Judicial Divisions of the Kwena Reserve and Lists of Heads. BNA S 471/3 B. Van Niekerk "Brief report of investigations carried out under the Bakwena, r.e. the Administrative structure of the Bakwena Tribe, June-July 1940" and "Additional Report on enquiries carried out under the Bakwena, r.e. Administrative Structure of the Tribe October 1943." BNA BNB 1489 English transcript of Niekerk, B. "Die administratione strukuur van die Bakwena-stam van die Betjoeanalandse Protektorat" University of Stellenbosch MA Thesis, 1961. Schapera, I. "Ethnographical texts in the Boloongwe dialect of Sekgalagadi," 162-65.
[42] McCabe, J. "Journal kept during a tour in the interior of South Africa."
[43] Ramsay, J. "Some Notes on the Colonial Era History of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve Region," 91-94.
[44] Schapera I. Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs (Oxford University Press, 1965) 149-51: *"Sebego opelo, ofa mapiritlwa, kebonye atlhelesetsa Matebele; oneile baba mmala wathebe."*
[45] In addition to its association among Batswana with Mzilikhazi the term "Tautona" or "Great Lion" has evolved as a Setswana title for paramount rulers including colonial-era British High Commissioners and post-colonial Presidents.
[46] Sebego's Mfecane era military campaigns detailed in Ramsay, J. *Kgosi Sebego – The Hard-Hearted Crocodile* (Gaborone, Weekend Post, 2014) available @ https://www.academia.edu/95107479/KGOSI_SEBEGO_THE_HARD_HEARTED_CROCODILE_by_JEFF_RAMSAY_1
[47] Kiema, K. *Tears for my Land*, 25-28. Osaki, M. "Reconstructing the Recent History of the G/ui and G//ana Bushmen. Osaka, M. "Reconstructing the Recent History of the G/ui and G//Ana Bushmen"
Kyoto University African study monographs. Supplementary issue 2001, 26: 29-30 online @ https://jambo.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp/kiroku/asm_suppl/abstracts/pdf/ASM_s26/04_Osaki.PDF citing Japanese language article by Nakagawa, H. 1996. "Language art and ethnography" in J. Tanaka, M. Kayeya, M. Ichikawa & I. Ohta, eds. *Natural History of Man* (Second Series), 81-116. Academia Shuppankai 1996), 81-116.
[48] Scattered references to Amandebele in the Kalahari can be found in Schapera, I. and Van der Merwe, D.F. *Notes on the Tribal Groupings*.
[49] P.R Kirby (edit) *Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith, 1834 to 1836* (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society 1939) Vol. 1, 279-80 online @ https://repository.nwu.ac.za/handle/10394/14672.
[50] Schapera I. *Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs*, 149-51, original Setswana: *"Ketswa lemotlasedi Tlammeng [Matlamma=Tjiherero speakers], ketswa gobona kaditlhaba dilwela, banna bajana kaseputlela salerumo. Dikgomo tsabokone magolonkwane; digolo maoto, dinaka gadigole, magolonkwane ooRrakgaodi....Thamaga dididibolbola; dikgomo diditsubaba Rramaomana, Rramaomana aMokube...Keile lemotlhasedi Tlammeng, ngwana*

wa namane tseditlhaba, mmusi, tseditlhaba tsamotse wa Matlamma; rediraetse molamu watshukudu, rere tlhaba dikhubame kamangole, dilebe goene, moabi aKhuto."

[51] A. Cuzen "History of Bakgalagadi in the Crownlands north of the Molopo River and West of the Bangwaketse Boundary" in Schapera, I. & Van der Merwe, D.F. *Notes on the Tribal Groupings*, 183-190

[52] P. Lemue "Coup d' oeil sur le Kalagari" *Journal des Missions Evangeliques*, Vol. 27 (1847) 32, translated and previously cited by Morton, B. "Servitude, Slave Trading and Slavery in the Kalahari."

[53] Passarge, S. *Die Bushmanner der Kalahari* (Berlin, D. Reimer 1907), 114-124, a draft English translation shared with this author by Edwin Wilmsen, subsequent translation published by Wilmsen, E. (ed.), The Kalahari Ethnographies (1896-98) of Siegfried Passarge: nineteenth-century Khoisan- and Bantu-speaking peoples, by Wilmsen, E. with Keuthmann, K., Gloversmith, L, and Jeanneret, C. Research in Khoisan Studies 13, Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 1997.

[54] Baines, T. *Explorations in South West Africa* (London, Longman Green, 1864), 174-75

[55] Andersson, C. *Lake Ngami* (1856), 437-38. The same incident is also described in detail in Chapman, J. *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (Cape Town, A.A. Balkema 1971) Vol. I, 127, journal entry 17th to 20th November 1853, and referred to by Baines, T. *Explorations in South West Africa* (1864) 174-175.

[56] Leyland, J. *Adventures in the Far Interior of South Africa, Including a Journey to Lake Ngami and Rambles in Honduras* (1853, reprint Cape Town, C. Struik, 1972), 181.

[57] In Morton, B. "Servitude, Slave Trading and Slavery in the Kalahari," 231-32.

[58] The painting was published as a front piece in Wallis, J. *The Northern Goldfield Diaries of Thomas Baines: First Journey 1870-71* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1946).

[59] "Raubase" and his downfall referred to by Moanaphuti Segolodi, "Ditso Tsa Batawana." 1940. Original Setswana manuscript located in BNA, Schapera Papers PP 1/2/9. Translation 11 July 1994 by Mmualefhe Raditladi. Edited by Barry Morton May 2015, posted @ https://www.academia.edu/12170767/Ditso_Tsa_Batawana_by_Moanaphuti_Segolodi_1940

[60] Relevant documents on Anglo-German division in British Parliamentry Paper (BPP) C.4432 and PRO (Confidential Print) CO 879/22/292. Also, BPP C.4839 Goold-Adams Report of 8 December in Robinson to Stanley 30 December 1885. PRO CO 879/23/305 Upington to Robinson 30 December in Robinson to Stanley 20 January1886. National Archives of Namibia (NAN) ZBU 1857 U IV containing July 1886 map showing German claims in northern Botswana

[61] Potten, D.H. "Aspects of the Recent History of Ngamiland" *Botswana Notes and Record*, (Gaborone, Botswana Society). Vol. 8, 1976, 67-96. Tlou, T. *A History of Ngamiland*, 109.

[62] Some notable publications by Hahn, T. include "Die Nama-Hottentotten" *Globus*, Vol. 12, 1867; "Die Buschmanner " *Globus* Vol. 16 (1870) and his book *Tsumi-//goam: The Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi* (London, Trubner, 1881), online @ https://archive.org/details/tsunillgoamsupre00hahnuoft/page/28/mode/2up?view=theater

[63] BNA RC 5/3. Main, M. *Kalahari, Life's Variety in Dune and Delta* (Johannesburg, Southern Book Publishers 1987) 206.

[64] Truschel, L.W. "The Tawana and the Ngamiland Trek" *Botswana Notes and Records* (Gaborone: Botswana Society Vol. 6 1974) 47-56.

[65] Russell, Margo and Martin *Afrikaners of Kalahari, White Minority in a Black State* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), 15.

[66] "Reports of the Transvaal Labour Commission: Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty," January 1904 (HMSO 1904)

[67] Correspondence Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner August 24, 1906, in BNA S 33/3 "Reported Unrest on the Part of Linchwe and Sebele." The file includes related

correspondence focusing on concerns about possible sympathy for Bambata's Zulu uprising as well as Nama resistance against the Germans in Namibia.
[68] McGregor, G.D.L. *German Medals, British Soldiers, and the Kalahari Desert: The South West Africa Commemorative Medal with the 'Kalahari' Bars Awarded to Imperial British Forces* Namibia Scientific Society, 2007. Ramsay, J. "Simon Kooper and the Nama Freedom Struggle" Presentation at the 4th Annual Nama Cultural Festival at Lokgwabe, Botswana, 2019 available @ https://www.academia.edu/94381644/SIMON_KOOPER_AND_THE_NAMA_FREEDOM_STRUGGLE
[69] Ramsay, J. "The First Car to Cross Botswana" Weekend Post, August 25, 2020. Graetz, P. *Im Auto Quer Durch Afrika* (Berlin: Gustav Braunbeck & Gutenberg-Druckerei, 1910, reprint Klaus Hess Verlag, 2007).
[70] BNA S. 580/7/1 Silberbauer Report. Main, M. *Kalahari, Life's Variety in Dune and Delta,* 208.
[71] Parsons, N. and Crowder, M. (edits.) *Monarch of all I Survey, Bechuanaland Diaries 1929-37 by Sir Charles Rey* (Gaborone, Botswana Society, 1988), 168-69.
[72] Russell, Margo and Martin *Afrikaners of Kalahari*, 15-16.
[73] Photo posted by Christopher Watcham @ *Ghanzi: Geskiedenis saambou vir onthou* website @ https://ghanzigesk.wixsite.com/ghanzi/album-2.
[74] *Monarch of all I Survey, Bechuanaland Diaries 1929-37*, 169.
[75] Correspondence of the Association in BNA S 125/11/1-2 and S 539/6
[76] Petitions in BNA S 2/6/, S 463/3; DC GH (Ghanzi) 1/5.
[77] Photo on left posted by Christopher Watcham @ *Ghanzi: Geskiedenis saambou vir onthou,* photo on right from Fay Pearson posted on *Know Your Botswana* website @ https://yourbotswana.com/2019/08/04/memories-of-early-days-in-1950-ghanzi/
[78] BNA 47/1 Resident Magistrate Kanye to Government Secretary, December 20, 1929.
[79] Guenther, M. "Why Racial Paternalism and not Genocide - The Case of the Ghanzi Bushmen of Colonial Bechuanaland" Chapter 6 in Adhikari, M. *Genocide on Settler Frontiers: When Hunter-Gathers and Commercial Stock Farmers Clash* (New York, Berghan Books, 2015).
[80] "Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1936" (London, HMSO 1937), 6.
[81] BNA S 156/13.
[82] BNA DC Ghanzi 1/5 Tom Hardbattle to DC, November 24, 1953. Tom Hardbattle ultimately married and had four children with a Khoe woman. In this respect, Tom should not be confused with his son John Hardbattle who emerged as a leading advocate of Khoe rights in the 1990s as a leader of the First Peoples of the Kalahari.
[83] Tobias, P.V. "On the Survival of the Bushmen. With an Estimate of the Problem Facing Anthropologists," in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Apr. 1956), 174-186. In May 1955 the same DC revised the estimated Bushman population to 15,000. Including 5000 living on farms.
[84] Gordon, R. *The Bushman Myth, The Making of a Namibian Underclass* (Westview Press, 1992), 93-97.
[85] BNA S 5/1 Gobabis Magistrate to Resident Magistrate Ghanzi, August 19, 1922.
[86] BNA S 5/1 Resident Magistrate Ghanzi to Government Secretary, September 1, 1922.
[87] S 5/1 Resident Magistrate Ghanzi to Government Secretary, April 4, 1923.
[88] Originally Ovambanderu, the Sheppard family's prominence, and surname had been established by Saul. As a young boy, he was captured and enslaved by Nama, only to be ransomed, in 1837, by the British Captain James Alexander. His new master had been commissioned to establish contact with the Ovaherero while finding a trans-Kalahari trade

route to the Bakwena. After initially serving as a herd boy, Saul was taken to England, where he attended a military school in Woolrich. He returned to Namibia in 1844 as an assistant to the Wesleyan missionary Peter Dixon. For many years thereafter, he preached among Kai//khuan Nama of Kooper. Being fluent in at least Dutch, English, and Nama as well as Tjiherero he became Maharero's Secretary in 1870. Wilmsen, E. *Land filled with Flies*, 92. Gewald, J.B. "'I was afraid of Samuel, therefore I came to Sekgoma': Herero refugees and patronage politics in Ngamiland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1890-1914." *Journal Of African History*, 43(2), 211-234.

[89] BNA RC 10/18 Resident Magistrate Tsau to Resident Commissioner October 4, 1904, and RC 11/1 Resident Magistrate Tsau to Resident Commissioner, April 25, 1905

[90] BNA S 8/3 MacGregor to HC, March 20, 1923

[91] BNA S 5/1 Resident Magistrate Maun to Acting Government Secretary, December 28, 1922.

[92] Dutton's eccentricities noted by Charles Rey *Monarch of All I Survey*, 8-9, 96. Stigand's behaviour in BNA files S 23/4 & DC Molepolole 4/12

[93] BNA S 5/1 Statement taken from native named Samson, December 28, 1922.

[94] BNA S 5/1 Resident Magistrate Ghanzi to Government Secretary, November 18, 1922.

[95] BNA S 5/1 Resident Magistrate Ghanzi to Government Secretary, September 1, 1922.

[96] BNA S 5/1 Magistrate Gobabis to Resident Magistrate Ghanzi, September 28, 1922

[97] BNA S 5/1 Resident Magistrate Ghanzi to Magistrate Gobabis, October 31, 1922

[98] Over the last two decades, there has been an upsurge in scholarly interest in the influence of Garveyism on South Africa and Namibia during the 1920s, e.g., Jones, D.R. "'The League Will Not Ignore the Cry of the Negro Race for Justice': Marcus Garvey, the League of Nations and South-West Africa" in the *Journal of Southern African Studies* Volume 48, 2022 - Issue 1 @ https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03057070.2022.2018828. Gewald, J. Herero Heroes: A Socio-Political History of the Herero of Namibia 1890-1923 (James Currey, David Philip, and Ohio University Press, 1999), 267-285. "Garveyism: Early 1900s philosophy" South African History online @ https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/garveyism-early-1900s-philosophy. Vinson, G.T. "American Negroes and Garveyism in South Africa" William & Mary Scholarly Works (2009) @ https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=9281&context=etd https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1101&context=asbookchapters Hogan, M.R. "' Remove us from the Bondage of South Africa:' Transnational and national Resistance Strategies and Subnational Concessions in Namibia's Police Zone, 1919-1962 West Virginia University Ph.D. Thesis 2021, 115-173 @

[99] Gordon, R. *The Bushman Myth,* 97 citing Voigt, B. *Diri: ein Bushmannsleben* (Potsdam: Vogenreiter 1943), 149. Voigt was eager to draw an unfavourable parallel between the atrocities of the "British-South African Government" and post-First World War British findings of colonial German atrocities in Namibia.

[100] Ghanzi intelligence 1958

[101] Makin, W.J. *Across the Kalahari* (London, Arrowsmith 1929) 106-07. Makin, who was covering the expedition for the London Daily Mail, Chicago Tribune, and other periodicals is better remembered as a fiction author than as a journalist, both traits being evident in his Kalahari travelogue.

[102] BNA Copy Book of Sebele I Out Correspondence, Sebele to Assistant Commissioner Gaberones, June 28, 1905.

[103] BNA Copy Book of Sebele I Out Correspondence, Sebele to S. Minchin, July 20, 1905.

[104] Clifford, B.E.H. *A Journey by Motor Lorry from Mahalapye through the Kalahari Desert* (London, Royal Geographic Society 1929). Additional correspondence in BNA DC Molepolole 5/18
[105] Makin, W.J. *Across the Kalahari*,
[106] Makin, W.J. *Across the Kalahari*, Map in Clifford, B.E.H. *A Journey by Motor Lorry from Mahalapye through the Kalahari Desert* (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1929), Makin article posted by Michigan State University Library @ https://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/tribune/trib09161928/trib09161928001.pdf.
[107] BNA DC Molepolole 5/18, also in S. 46/1 Resident Magistrate Molepolole to Resident Commissioner, May 8, 1928.
[108] BNA DC Molepolole 5/18 Resident Magistrate Molepolole to Resident Commissioner, May 11, 1928.
[109] BNA 43/7. Hermans, J. "Official Policy towards the Bushmen of Botswana: A Review, Part I" *Botswana Notes and Records* (Gaborone: Botswana Society Vol. 9 1977) 55-67.
[110] BNA S. 47/3, S. 6/1. In his eagerness to clear his name from charges of complicity in slavery, Tshekedi pressed for an official inquiry into the matter. This resulted in the 1931 Taggart Commission on "Condition existing among the Masarwa in the Bamangwato Reserve" whose findings were critical of the status quo which was described as "a policy of repression."
[111] BNA S 47/1, cited in Hermans, J. "Official Policy towards the Bushmen of Botswana."
[112] BNA DC Molepolole 5/18 Resident Magistrate Molepolole to Resident Commissioner
[113] BNA S 446/8 "Cattle Smuggling".
[114] BNA DC Molepolole 6/1/1 Report by Corporal Moses Malata, April 22, 1929.
[115] BNA W.J. Clissold, unpublished 1926 manuscript at St. Paul's Church, Molepolole, copy deposited by author.
[116] BNA DC Molepolole 5/13 Resident Magistrate Molepolole to Acting Assistant Resident Commissioner, August 14, 1930. BNA Divisional Commissioner South 6/4 D.C. Molepolole to Divisional Commissioner Lobatsi, February 27, 1960.
[117] BNA DC Molepolole 5/13
[118] BNA files S 23/4 & DC Molepolole 4/12
[119] BNA DC Molepolole 2/9 Annual Report Molepolole 1929.
[120] BNA W.J. Clissold, unpublished 1926 manuscript
[121] BNA DC Molepolole 6/1 "Water-boring in Kalahari." PRO DO 35/392/4 "Development in the Kalahari Desert 1930-34."
[122] PRO DF 200/202 "Vernay-Lang Expedition to the Kalahari Desert: letters of Arthur S Vernay 1930-32." Hill, J.E. "Results of the Vernay-Lang Kalahari expedition -Larger Mammals of Bechuanaland Protectorate" in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* Vol. 79, New York, July 1942, 367-390. @ https://core.ac.uk/reader/18223424.
[123] BNA DC Molepolole 6/1
[124] Spinage, C. *History and Evolution of Fauna Conservation Laws in Botswana*, Game Laws: 7-46.
[125] Taylor, J. Mine Labour Migration from Botswana to South Africa (Ph.D., Thesis, University of Liverpool, 1981), 85-90.
[126] Tobias, P.V. "New Evidence and New Views on the Evolution of Man in Africa" *South African Journal of Science*, Vol. 57, February 1961, 25-38.
[127] Howell, N. "Images of Tasaday and the !Kung: Reassessing Hunter Gatherers" manuscript cited by Wilmsen, E. *Land Filled with Flies*, 35-36.
[128] BNA DC Molepolole 6/14. Schoeman, P.J. *Hunters of a Desert Land* (Cape Town, Howard Timmins 1957)
[129] Gordon, R. *The Bushman Myth*, 160-67.

[130] BNA S 108/2/1. PRO 35/914/9 “Bushmen's reserve, Bechuanaland Protectorate” 1937-39. PRO CO 1048/153 “CDW Grant for Bushman Survey” PRO CO 1048/152 ‘Bushmen of Kalahari Desert region: proposed anthropological study’ 1962
[131] BNA S 108/2/1-3 Although the community was, and has remained united under their own leadership, the colonial regime further classified the 483 who were relocated as consisting of 244 "Bastards," 89 "Hottentots," 79 "Natives," 44 "Damaras," 25 "Coloureds" and two "Bushmen." Files further include the May 21, 1938, Star article "Famous Hunting Area Becomes Park, Great Trek of Half-Castes from Kalahari Reserve."
[132] BNA S 108/2/1 "Attempt to Save Bushmen" article from the April 17, 1937 edition of the Johannesburg Star newspaper. Robinson, J. "Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction, Segregation, and Modernity in a South African City" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Sep. 2003), 759-789
[133] Photo on left in Gordon, R. *The Bushman Myth,* page 149, from *Illustrated London News,* May 29, 1937. Photo on right from University of Cape Town Library.
[134] Gordon, R. *The Bushman Myth,* 150. The Committee was chaired by the British High Commissioner for Southern Africa, Sir William Clark, and included the Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Reinhart-Jones, Douglas Smit on behalf of the South African Department of Native Affairs and the administration of South West Africa, H.E. Priestman, for the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Professors Clement Doke and Isaac Schapera.
[135] Tobias, P.V “Fifteen Years of Study on the Kalahari Bushmen or San, A Brief History of the Kalahari Research Committee” *South African Journal of Scienc*e, Vol. 71, March 1975, 74-77. BNA DC Molepolole 6/14.
[136] Tobias, P.V. “Physical anthropology and somatic origins of the Hottentots” *African Studies*, Vol. 24, no. 1 (1955) 1-23.
[137] Murray, H. (et.al.) “Endemic Syphilis in The Bakwena Reserve of The Bechuanaland Protectorate: A Report on Mass Examination and Treatment” *Bulletin of the World Health Organisation,* (No. 15, 1956, 975-1039. Alfred Merriweather *The Desert Doctor Remembers, The autobiography of Alfred Merriweather* (Gaborone, Pula Press, 1999) 172-86.
[138] BNA S. 580/7/1. Public Records Office (PRO) UK at Kew Dominions Office (DO) 35/7167 1957-60, PRO 35/7264 ‘Bushmen of the Kalahari’ 1956-60. PRO DF 141/102 ‘Bushmen of the Kalahari’ 1954-68.
[139] Morapedi, W. “The Settler Enclaves of Southern Africa and the African Peripheral Areas (Reserves): The Case of the Ghanzi and Tati White Farming Districts of Botswana, 1898–1970” in *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 66 (2014), 546-71.
[140] Barnard, A. "Basarwa Settlement Patterns in the Ghanzi Ranch Area," 139.
[141] BNA Divisional Commissioner North 9/7 Ghanzi Tergos, March 1958.
[142] BNA S. 580/7/1 Silberbauer to Government Secretary, April 28, 1960
[143] BNA S. 580/7/1 Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner, February 9, 1961. PRO DO 35/7280 “Bushmen in Bechuanaland”.
[144] BNA CF/24 and Divisional Commissioner South 6/4.
[145] Tomlinson, Professor F R (chairman), and nine other commissioners *Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1955).
[146] Spinage, C. *History and Evolution of the Fauna Conservation Laws of Botswana* (Gaborone, Botswana Society, 1991), 60. PRO CO 1048/609 “Bushmen of Bechuanaland”
[147] BNA S. 580/7/2 and S. 381/10.
[148] PRO 1948/921 “Proposal to give the Bushmen part of the Kalahari Desert prior to the independence of Bechuanaland”. Continuing Imperial interest in the matter is reflected in PRO FCO 45/129 “Bushmen in Botswana” 1968-69 and PRO FCO 45/452 “Bushmen in

Botswana" 190. Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons 1964-65, Vol. 707 March 22nd to April 2, 1965

[149] BNB 9539 *Report of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve Fact-Finding Mission* (Gaborone, Government Printer, November 1985).

[150] Silberbauer, G. *Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[151] Hitchcock, R. "The Roles of Applied and Development Anthropology and Archaeology among the San of Botswana" in *Botswana Notes and Records* (Gaborone, Botswana Society Vol. 36 2004), 125-135

[152] Owens, D. and M. *Cry of the Kalahari* (London, Collins 1985).

[153] Owens, D. and M. *Cry of the Kalahari,* 17.

[154] Parson, N. "Botswana Cinema Film and Film Studies" Chapter 5 "Under Attack, 1981-93" @ https://ubh.tripod.com/cinema/bots-cinema-studies.htm#under (March 2004).

[155] Parson, N. "Botswana Cinema Film and Film Studies" Chapter 5 "Under Attack."

[156] "A New Look at Pastoral Development on Communal Rangeland" *The Guardian* (Gaborone) February 7, 1992, Ramsay, J. "Zoowholand" Mmegi, May 5, 1992, Mayer, C. "Cattle versus Botswana" *Mmegi* April 24, 1992, White, R. "Lomba, and his Owls – A riposte" *Mmegi* May 1, 1992, Hardisty, M.E. "Owls for sustainable utilization" Mmegi May 29, 1992, "Rose Mooshoeneng traveller from RSA" (pseudonym) "Ramsay's Comment curious" *Mmegi* June 5, 1992, Lomba, R. "White is a Stooge" July 3, 1992, White, R "More Lomba bashing" *Mmegi* June 19, 1992, Ramsay, J. "Lomba Lumps" July 17, 1992, White, R. "Lomba misleading the public" *Mmegi* August 28, 1992, Warren, P. Cow power confronts Botswana Buffalo Barrier" *Weekly Mail* September 11, 1992, Lomba R. "Conservation & Development Botswana's Cattle Experience circulated by OWLS "Botswana Action" P.O. Box 5262 Saxonwald RSA MacKay, B "Botswana being laid to waste for beef farms and diamonds *Toronto Star* January 27, 1991, Ramsay, J, "Birds of a Feather" *Mmegi* May 29, 1992

[157] BNA BNB 9539 *Report of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve Fact-Finding Mission.* (November 1985)

[158] Galland, Y. *Report drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Development and Cooperation on the disturbance of the ecological balance in Botswana. Working Documents 1986-87, Document A 2-24/86, 7 April 1986.* [EU European Parliament]

[159] Although those who accompanied the two, including the late Alec Campbell, were sworn to strict secrecy, the British tabloid media was nonetheless full of speculative stories about the Prince of Wales communing with stereotyped Bushmen. This author's response to the said coverage "The Kgalagadi vs. Untamed Eden" was published in the April 11, 1987 edition of Mmegi (Botswana), with a condensed version "Talk on the Wild Side" appearing in the April 21, 1987 edition of the Guardian (UK).

[160] "Where Prince Charles went Wrong" in *The New Yorker*, April 10, 2017.

[161] Wolf, E. *Europe and the People Without History* (University of California Press, 1982).

[162] Young, B.A. *Bechuanaland* (London: HMSO 1965), 121. Earlier Bechuanaland was also described as being happy to be without history in Greaves, L.B. *The High Commission Territories* (London: Edinburg Press 1954) 7.

[163] From graduation remarks by Sir Seretse Khama, Chancellor of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, delivered at Luyengo campus, Swaziland, and printed as a supplement in the *Botswana Daily News*, May 19, 1970.

Fig. 15 Tale of two artists: On the left is British Airways (BA) Tailfin art that was adapted from the painting "Kg'oocoan heé naka hìian theé e" translated as "Animals and Trees" by the late Khoe artist Cgoise or Cg'ose Ntcox'o (1950 -2013). Cgoise was a resident artist at the Kuru Art Project of the Kuru Development Trust, based at D'kar. Despite her works having been sold internationally during her lifetime, she reportedly died in poverty. The appearance of Cg'ose's art on a total of 8 British Airways tailfins was part of a 1997 to 2002 branding campaign. The painting on the right is a watercolour impression of the "Kudikhama pan" that was painted by King Charles III during his 1987 visit as the then Prince of Wales with Laurens Van der Post to the Central Kalahari. It has also been reproduced, far right, on a "Royal Edition" CD case of classic music. The original painting was auctioned in 2015 for an undisclosed sum believed to be in the millions of pounds. Print reproductions of the King's watercolours are sold for thousands of pounds each, with proceeds said to be earmarked for charity.